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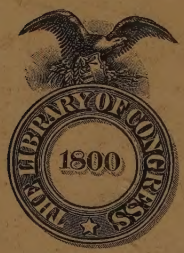

Governor Charles N. Herreid

SOUTH DAKOTA

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND ENGRAVINGS

—— COMPILED BY THE ——

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOLUME I

1902

1902
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ABERDEEN, S. D.

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LETTER OF TRANSMITTAL

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
State of South Dakota.

Hon. Charles N. Herreid,
Governor.

Herewith I hand you the biennial report of the State Historical Society, as required by section 28, chapter 135, of the laws of 1901.

Pierre, August 1, 1902.

DOANE ROBINSON,
Secretary.

Dakotas or Sioux

1. Mdewakantons (People of Spirit Lake). Lived on Mississippi River near St. Paul.

2. Wakpekutes (Leaf Shooters). Lived on Minnesota River in vicinity of Mankato.

3. Wahpetons (People of the Leaves). Lived on upper Minnesota near Lac qui Parle.

4. Sissetons (People of the Swamp). Lived in vicinity of Big Stone Lake.

These four bands were called collectively Isanties (Santees), meaning people who use knives, or people who once lived on Knife Lake. They all roamed into South Dakota time out of mind.

5. Yanktons (People at the End, referring to the position they occupied in the great tribal councils). Lived on Missouri River near Yankton.

6. Yanktonaise (People Near the End). Lived on upper James River from Redfield to Devil's Lake. The Assiniboines are an offshoot of this band.

7. Tetons (People of the Prairie). This division includes all of the Sioux living west of the Missouri.

1. *Uncpapas (People Who Camp by Themselves).

2. *Sihasapas (Blackfeet).

3. *Itazipchos (People Without Bows; French, Sans Arcs).

4. Minneconjous (People Who Plant by the Water). They lived between the Black Hills and Platte River.

5. Oglalas. They lived along the Niobrara.

6. Sichanques (Burnt Thighs; French, Brules). They lived on White River.

7. Oohenonpaas (Two Kettles, from circumstance that at one time two kettles of meat saved the band from starving). Lived near Fort Pierre.

*These three bands were closely allied and lived near Grand River.

Chart Showing Divisions of the Dakota or Sioux Indians and the Habitat of Each Band Before White Invasion

Extract from the Inaugural Address of Governor Charles N. Herreid to the Seventh Legislative Session, State of South Dakota.

The time has arrived when the state should encourage the incorporation of a State Historical Society by making a reasonable appropriation for the work of such an organization. Such a society should be duly incorporated and have for its specific object the collection, preservation, exhibition and publication of materials for the study of history, especially of our own state and the great northwest. In its constitution it should provide for stability and public confidence by making the state officers, judges of the supreme court, the members of congress and presidents of state educational institutions, ex-officio members of the society. Means should be provided for securing the precious material which will be of incalculable value to an historical museum, and which is being destroyed and lost forever; for acquiring documents and manuscripts and obtaining the personal recollections of the actors in our formative period. Each year, as it rolls along the endless pathway of eternity, is thinning the ranks of the sturdy pioneers who laid the foundations for such a splendid commonwealth. Before it is too late, let the life history of the old settlers be written and preserved as a part of the history of the wonderful growth and marvelous development of this region. Here a memorable migration, a mighty wave of humanity swept over the boundless unbroken prairie, producing a panorama the like of which never has been and never again will be seen anywhere. In urging the importance of this work, which coming generations will appreciate, I will appropriate the memorable words of Carlyle: "Let the record be made of the men and things of today, lest they pass out of memory tomorrow and are lost. Then perpetuate them, not upon wood or stone that crumbles to dust, but chronicle in picture and in words that endure forever."

ORGANIC ACT

CHAPTER 135

[H. B. 10]

Establishing the Department of History of the State of South Dakota

An Act Establishing the Department of History of the State of South Dakota, and Defining the Powers and Duties of the State Historical Society in Connection Therewith.

Be it Enacted by the Legislature of the State of South Dakota:

Section 1. Department of History Established. There is hereby established the department of history of the state of South Dakota.

Sec. 2. Duty of Department. It shall be the duty of said department to collect, preserve, exhibit and publish the materials for the study of history; especially the history of South Dakota and adjacent states; to this end exploring the archaeology of the region, acquiring documents and manuscripts, obtaining narratives and records of pioneers, conducting a library of historical reference, maintaining a gallery of historical portraiture and an ethnological and historical museum; publishing and otherwise diffusing information relating to the history of the region, and in general encouraging and developing within the state the study of history. It shall also perform such other duties as are now or may hereafter be imposed upon it by the laws of the state.

Sec. 3. The administration of the duties of said department is hereby vested in and conferred upon the state historical society, duly organized on the 23d day of January, 1901, its officers and members and their duly qualified successors.

Sec. 4. Duty of Historical Society. Said historical society shall be composed of life, annual, honorary, corresponding, auxiliary, and ex-officio members. Members of the first four classes may be chosen by the executive committee of the society at any regular or special meeting thereof.

Any society of South Dakota organized for the purpose of gathering and preserving facts relative to the history of South Dakota, or any section thereof, may become an auxiliary member of this society upon application, and may be represented at all regular meetings of the society by one member, provided, that such auxiliary society shall make an annual report of its work to this society to entitle it to such representation. Ex-officio members of the society are the constitutional officers of the state of South Dakota.

Sec. 5. Membership Fees. The fees for membership shall be as follows: For life members, ten dollars, and for annual membership two dollars per annum. The fees for membership shall be paid within one month after notice of election has been given, and annual members may at any time become life members by paying the requisite fees.

Sec. 6. Who May Hold Office. The right to hold office and to vote

Hon. John L. Pyle

and take part in the proceedings of the society shall be possessed only by life, annual and ex-officio members, and the delegates from auxiliary societies. Only life and annual members shall hold office.

Sec. 7. Society Constituted Trustee. Said society is hereby constituted the trustee of the state for the purpose set out in section 2 of this act, and as such trustee shall faithfully expend and apply all moneys received from the state to the purposes and uses directed by law, and shall hold all its collections and property for the state, and shall not sell, mortgage, transfer, or in any manner dispose of or remove from the rooms provided by the state for its accommodation any article or part of the same without authority of law or the consent of the legislature; provided that this shall not prevent the sale or exchange of any duplicates which the society may have or obtain.

Sec. 8. Place of Business. The principal business of this society shall be transacted at the capital of the state, and the meetings for the election of trustees shall be held at the capital on the third Wednesday in January, biennially, during the regular session of the legislature.

Sec. 9. Special Meetings. Special meetings of the society may be held from time to time as required, upon call of the president and secretary, and such meetings shall be called by the secretary upon the written request of five members of the executive committee.

Sec. 10. Quorum. At any meeting of the society, regular or special, not less than ten members having the right to vote shall constitute a quorum. The fiscal year of the society shall begin on the first day of July and end on the thirtieth day of June.

Sec 11. Number of Trustees. There shall be eleven trustees, who, together with the secretary of the society, the governor, secretary of state and state auditor shall constitute an executive committee, in which shall be vested full power of administration of the affairs of the society. A majority of the executive committee shall constitute a quorum.

Sec. 12. Term of Office. The members of the board of trustees shall be elected for six years; Provided, that the board shall be divided into three classes, and at the first election a class of three trustees shall be elected to serve two years, and a class of four trustees shall be elected for four years, and a class of four trustees shall be elected for six years, and that thereafter one of such classes shall be elected at each regular biennial meeting of the society, and each trustee shall continue in office until his successor is duly elected and qualified. Vacancies in the board caused by death, resignation, or removal from the state may be filled by the executive committee.

Sec. 13. Executive Committee—Duty of. The executive committee shall hold a meeting for organization immediately at the close of the regular meetings of the society, and shall thereat elect a president and vice-president. Such officers shall hold office for two years and until their successors are duly chosen.

Sec. 14. Secretary to be elected. At the first meeting of the executive committee there shall be elected a secretary who shall serve during the pleasure of the board, subject to removal as hereinafter provided.

Sec. 15. Treasurer. The state treasurer shall be treasurer of this society.

Sec. 16. Vacancies May Be Filled. Upon the death, resignation or removal from office of any officer the vacancy may be filled for the time being by the executive committee at any regular or special meeting thereof.

Sec. 17. Regular Meetings—When and Where Held. Regular meetings of the executive committee shall be held at the rooms of the society on the second Wednesday of each month, and special meetings may be held at any time upon the call of the president or secretary, and the

secretary shall call such meetings upon the request of five members of the committee.

Sec. 18. Duties of President. The principal duties of the president shall be to preside at all meetings of the society and of the executive committee, and to sign all deeds, releases and conveyances executed by the society.

Sec. 19. Duties of Vice President. The principal duties of the vice president shall be to discharge the duties of the president in the event of his absence or inability to act from any cause whatsoever.

Sec. 20. Duties of Secretary. The principal duties of the secretary shall be to countersign all deeds, leases, releases and conveyances executed by the society and to affix the seal of the society thereto, and to such other papers as shall be required or directed to be sealed; to keep a record of the proceedings of the society and of the executive committee; safely and systematically to keep all papers, records and documents belonging to the society or in any wise pertaining to the business thereof, except such as may be committed to the care of other officers; to conduct the correspondence of the society; to edit and supervise its publications, and generally, so far as required, always subject to the direction of the executive committee, to administer the several activities of the society. The secretary shall give surety in such sum as shall be determined by the executive committee.

Sec. 21. Duties of Treasurer. The principal duties of the treasurer shall be to receive and keep in his care and custody all moneys, and securities for money, and such other property of the society as shall be committed to his charge by the executive committee; to invest the capital of the special funds in his hands as shall be authorized by the executive committee; to pay out such funds as he shall be authorized to pay; to render from time to time to the society statements in writing of the sums of money by him received and from what source received; of the sums by him disbursed and for what purpose, with proper vouchers accompanying; moneys, securities and property in his possession; and generally of all matters pertaining to his office concerning which information may be desired.

Sec. 22. Additional Duties of Officers. The said officers shall perform such other additional duties as may from time to time be imposed or required by the executive committee, or by statute.

Sec. 23. Compensation of Officers. The compensation of the officers and employes of the society shall be fixed by the executive committee, and shall be paid by the treasurer under such regulations as are prescribed by the by-laws of the society and the statutes.

Sec. 24. Executive Committee—Further Duties of. The executive committee shall manage, administer and control the disposition of the moneys, property and effects and affairs of the society, and direct the officers thereof under such limitations as are prescribed by the statutes. Any officer may be removed from office by said executive committee for disability, incompetency, misconduct or other cause; Provided, at least five days before the meeting at which such action is taken, notice in writing that such action will be moved or applied for, be served upon such officer in the same manner in which a summons in a court of record is served in South Dakota, and a like notice to be served on every member of the executive committee either personally or by mail, to him from some postoffice within the state of South Dakota, at least five days before said meeting, a copy thereof addressed to him at his last known postoffice address and with postage fully prepaid. No motion to remove an officer shall prevail unless carried by a two-thirds vote of the executive committee.

Sec. 25. May Appoint Sub-Committees. The executive committee may appoint sub-committees of their own number, which, subject to re-

vision by the executive committee, may exercise such powers as are entrusted to them, respecting subjects for which they are especially appointed.

Sec. 26. By-Laws. The executive committee may adopt by-laws for the government of said society, not inconsistent with the laws of this state.

Sec. 27. Moneys Paid into Treasury. All moneys collected by the society, or any officer thereof for life or annual membership fees, from the sale of duplicates, from gifts or bequests, or from any other source, shall be paid into the treasury and shall be kept by the treasurer as a separate fund to be invested or paid out on proper vouchers as directed by the executive committee.

Sec. 28. Secretary to Make Report—Governor to Publish. The secretary of said society shall make, biennially, a report of the transactions and collections of said society to the governor. The governor shall cause one thousand copies of such report to be printed and substantially bound, in the same manner as are the reports of the other state officers. Four hundred copies of said report shall be reserved for the various departments of the state, the several state institutions and the legislature; the remainder shall be used by the secretary of said society for exchange for similar publications and for sale to the general public.

Sec. 29. Exchanges. One hundred copies of each of the official reports and other publications of the state shall be provided for the use of the state historical society, to be used in exchange with other states and individuals.

Sec. 30. Duties of Custodian of Capitol. The custodian of the capitol shall provide suitable quarters for the accommodation of said society.

Sec. 31. Emergency. There being no law defining the powers and duties of a state historical society, an emergency is hereby declared to exist, and this act shall take effect from its passage and approval.

Sec. 32. Repeal. All acts and parts of acts conflicting with this act are hereby repealed.

Approved Feb. 5, 1901.

THE DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

HISTORY, MEMBERSHIP AND DOINGS

The Department of History of the State of South Dakota was created by act of the legislature, approved by your excellency, upon the 5th day of February, 1901, and which act vested the administration of such Department of History in the State Historical Society, which was duly organized on the 23d day of January, 1901, with the following membership:

LIFE MEMBERS

Bishop Thomas O'Gorman,
O. C. Berg,
Robert F. Kerr,
Burton A. Cummins,
David Eastman,
Cassius C. Bennett,
Emiel Brauch,
C. B. Billinghurst,
E. E. Collins,
Howard C. Shober,
William H. Roddle,
John L. Pyle,
Isaac Lincoln,
Coe I. Crawford,
Frank Crane,
Robert J. Gamble,
John Hayes,
John Schamber,
Joseph M. Green,
Dick Haney,
Robert McDowell,
Pattison F. McClure,
E. P. Farr,
Louis G. Ochsenreiter,
Charles M. Daley,
J. D. Lavin,
Frank A. Morris,
James D. Elliott,
John T. Kean,
Nathan P. Johnson,
Charles L. Hyde,
F. W. Boettcher,
John E. Hipple,
Seth Bullock,
James D. Reeves,
L. B. Albright,
Charles H. Burke,
Louis K. Lord,

Garrett Droppers,
George V. Ayers,
John Sutherland,
Thomas M. Shanafelt,
Gov. Charles N. Herreid,
John Q. Anderson,
Thomas L. Riggs,
E. H. Wilson,
George W. Snow,
N. C. Nash,
Ellery C. Chilcott,
Charles E. DeLand,
DeLorme W. Robinson,
Doane Robinson,
G. J. Schellinger,
Marcus P. Beebe,
James Halley,
S. Grant Dewel,
John Westdahl,
B. F. Pucket,
Herman Ellerman,
Chas. B. Foncanon,
Theo. F. Riggs,
Cephas W. Ainsworth,
Charles E. McKinney,
James M. Brown,
Walter M. Cheever,
Ben C. Ash,
David E. Lloyd,
Sidney R. Gold,
Horace G. Tilton,
David Williams,
Edmund Cook,
O. S. Swenson,
Philip Lawrence,
John D. Logan.

ANNUAL MEMBERS

J. H. Maynard,
Eugene Huntington,
Henry K. Warren,
W. C. Bower.

HONORARY MEMBERS

Pierre Chouteau, Saint Louis, Missouri.
Rev. John P. Williamson, Greenwood, South Dakota.
Moses K. Armstrong, Saint James, Minnesota.

CORRESPONDING MEMBERS

Reuben Gold Thwaites, Madison, Wisconsin.
Warren Upham, Saint Paul, Minnesota.
Charles Aldrich, Des Moines, Iowa.
Grace King, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.
Jay Amos Barrett, Lincoln, Nebraska.

OFFICERS:

At the date of the organization of the State Historical

Society, the following executive committee was elected by the members present:

Governor Charles N. Herreid, Secretary of State O. C. Berg, State Auditor James D. Reeves, Louis G. Ochsenreiter, Hans Myron,[1] Seth Bullock, terms expire January, 1903; Thomas L. Riggs, Thomas M. Shanafelt, Robert F. Kerr, DeLorme W. Robinson, terms expire, January, 1905; Charles E. DeLand, Burton A. Cummins, John Hayes, Charles M. Daley, terms expire January, 1907.

The executive committee at once organized upon that date by the election of Thomas L. Riggs, president; Thomas M. Shanafelt, vice-president; Doane Robinson, secretary, the state treasurer becoming treasurer of the society by virtue of his office.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

Received from life membership fees	$ 727 45	
Received from annual membership fees	8 00	
Received from books sold	6 00	
		$ 741 45
State appropriation		500 00
		$ 1,241 45
Paid for secretary's salary from January 23, 1901, to January 1, 1902	$ 562 50	
Paid for stationery, postage, express, freight, exchange, traveling expense, etc., and office rent, secretary's office	240 77	
Paid for typewriter and furniture	307 51	
Paid for railway ticket for Thomas Tate, in consideration of memoirs of Colonel John Pattee	17 26	
Exchange, charged off by treasurer	50	
		1,128 68
Balance		$ 112 77

Vouchers for all of which are filed in this office.

From the outset it has been the object of the society to not only collect and verify every available fact relating to the state's history, but, at the same time, to cultivate in the people an interest and pride in the state, its development and history, and to this end the secretary has made addresses before schools, teachers' institutes and associations, and societies of citizens and old settlers, forty-one addresses in all. An extensive correspondence has been carried on, by members of the executive

[1]Did not qualify.

committee, to ascertain and verify the stories of important historical events, the result of a portion of which is exhibited in the accompanying historical papers. Many historical localities have been visited for the purpose of studying the subject upon the ground and from original sources, and several interesting points have been marked by the erection of substantial posts properly inscribed. These are the locations of the first church built in Dakota Territory, at Vermillion; the original school house site at Vermillion; the point in Spink county where Abbie Gardner Sharpe was rescued from the Indians in 1857; the point where Mrs. Marble was rescued in the same year, at Lake Herman, in Lake county. At the suggestion of this society the citizens of Bon Homme county have marked with a tablet of stone the location of the first school house in the territory, at Bon Homme, and the citizens of Walworth county have organized to erect a suitable monument to mark the point of the rescue of the Shetak captives, in that county. The secretary has definitely located the graves of John Other Day and Paul Mazakutamane, in Roberts county, Indians who at great hazard rescued white captives.

Having before us the task of establishing the lines upon which the work of the society shall be prosecuted, it was thought wise, among other things, to studiously prepare a review of the progress of the state at the close of each year, and accordingly at the conclusion of the year 1901 such a review was published. Very much interest in it was exhibited and more than twenty thousand copies of it were circulated directly by the secretary. Though it was not primarily intended for that purpose, the excellence of the conditions in the state, revealed by it, made it an exceptionally important and convincing exponent of the advantages offered by South Dakota to homeseekers, and it has been reproduced and circulated by other publishers to the extent of 200,000 copies.

The secretary has also compiled a brief, but comprehensive, booklet of information relating to the state, which has received a circulation of more than 150,000 copies.

The secretary has also continued the publication of the Monthly Dakotan, which has been a useful and valuable auxiliary to the work of the society; indeed, but for it, it would

have been impossible to accomplish much of the work, in rescuing and preserving the state's history, which has been done. It is not an idle boast to assert that these publications alone have already returned to the state, a thousand fold, the small sum appropriated for the maintenance of the Department of History.

The War Department at Washington has exhibited much interest in the work of this department and has placed at its disposal every facility for the study of the early military operations in the Territory and of the military posts in this locality, and citizens generally have shown much interest and rendered valuable assistance.

No great progress has been made in the assembling of an historical museum, for the reason that there is no secure place to deposit valuable relics. Many very curious, interesting and valuable relics are in the possession of the citizens of South Dakota and other sections of the west, who will gladly deliver them to the custody of this society, as soon as fire proof quarters can be secured, but for the present it has been thought that there is much less hazard in leaving these articles scattered in the hands of careful owners, than to gather them into one collection where a single fire may destroy all. Therefore the secretary has been at much pains to discover the possessors of such wares, but has not endeavored to gather anything which appeared to be in safe hands, unless the wares were voluntarily turned over to the society.

The following contributions are acknowledged:

From the former South Dakota Historical Society, two boxes of miscellaneous books and pamphlets not catalogued, one set Catlin's North American Indians, one plaster cast of footprints on Medicine Rock, one pair gauntlet gloves worked in quills, one pair moccasins, one steel battleax, one beaded knife sheath, one beaded quirt, one gavel used in constitutional convention of 1885, one catlinite paper weight, one oil painting of old Fort Pierre, one constitution and by-laws of South Dakota Historical Society and one record book of said society, one bound volume of the Blunt Advocate, one bound volume of the Brookings Press, manuscript proceedings of the constitutional conven-

tion of 1883, register of the Grand Pacific Hotel at Pierre for 1881.

From Wm. M. Kemp, Pierre, one gold pen and ivory holder.

Mrs. Charles H. Sheldon, Governor Sheldon's gold spectacles.

Mrs. William B. Sterling, Mr. Sterling's commission as United States district attorney.

Ralph Stoddard, Pierre, collection of Ree Indian relics.

Charles McCord, Pierre, human skeleton found at Pierre.

Captain Frank Lillibridge, cowskin robe embellished with pictograph history of battle of Little Bighorn, General Crook's walking cane and headquarters flag.

Dr. DeLorme Robinson, four arrows, two pipes, one war club, one winter counts.

Nathan P. Langford, Saint Paul, Minnesota, "Vigilantes' Ways and Days."

Governor Samuel J. Albright, spur worn on first trip to Dakota, parlimentary manual used in squatter legislature at Sioux Falls, 1858.

Colonel I. W. Goodner, collection of relics of criminal trials in Governor Louis K. Church's court.

Hon. Robert J. Gamble, shackles used on Kelly, accused of attempt to poison officers at Fort Sully.

Robert E. McDowell, General Hugh J. Campbell's cane and cob pipe; numerous public documents bearing upon the history of Dakota.

Mrs. Franklin J. Dewitt, letter written by Dr. Williamson warning settlers at Medary, 1858, of threatened Indian outbreak.

Wm. L. Gardner, Louisville, Kentucky, letter written by Hugh Glass, 1823, telling of killing of John Gardner by Ree Indians.

Mrs. Newton Edmunds, Governor Edmunds' sword-cane.

Governor John A. Burbank, razor with which he shaved while governor.

E. Frank Peterson, bound atlases of Clay, Davison, Turner and Hanson counties.

Mrs. R. E. Rowley, history and atlas of Turner county.

Silas W. Kidder, collection of the letters and private papers of Judge Jefferson P. Kidder; bill book of Judge Kidder.

Franklin Taylor, collection of old letters and papers.

United States Cavalry Association, "Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors."

General W. H. H. Beadle, series of old German maps of North America; Barber's surveying; "Picturesque America," devoted to Dakota Territory; miscellaneous letters and pamphlets.

Dr. D. W. Robinson, autograph of Sitting Bull.

Sever Myron, block of wood from the Myron homestead house, the first house erected by Norwegian settlers in Dakota.

Isaac Twedt, Volga, limestone slab, bearing inscription, plowed up on his farm by Henry Twedt.

Judge George L. Bingham, medicine stick.

Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, memoirs of Father Revoux, photograph of Father DeSmet.

Willey & Danforth, "Ordway's Record," printed at Sioux Falls in 1881.

Governor N. G. Ordway, his personal defense against criticisms of his administration; also a biographical sketch.

Governor Charles N. Herreid, memorandum of Judge Milburn of Montana relating to the closing of the Crow Creek reservation.

Herman Ellerman, ballots used in the railway bond election at Yankton in 1871, in which the famous Yankton county bonds were authorized.

Captain George E. Masters, orders No. 1 Dakota militia.

Mrs. Delia Rounds Williams, sketch of the old school house at Bon Homme.

Frank E. VanTassel, copies of bills of merchandise, 1874.

Robert E. McDowell, John R. Gamble's certificate to teach school.

Governor Charles N. Herreid, copy of Eureka Post for March 30, 1898, containing engravings illustrating Eureka as the world's greatest primary wheat market; copy of ballot used in general election of 1892, in McPherson county, printed in both German and English.

Florence Daly, Columbia, history of the Daly school.

Dr. W. E. Crane, gun, tomahawk, human skull, knife-sheath.

The society desires to make especial acknowledgment of a gift of five hundred volumes of "The Early Empire Builders of the Great West," from its able author, Hon. Moses K. Armstrong, of St. James, Minnesota, formerly delegate to congress from Dakota Territory.

The secretary has desired to gather the largest possible amount of personal information relating to the citizens of the state, biographical and geneological, and to that end has sent out six thousand blank forms requesting data of this character, and in this way has gathered several hundred biographies and some extended geneologies.

The co-operation of all citizens is invited to make the records of the society available always as a source of information relating to families, kinship and kindred subjects of interest.

One life member of the Historical Society has been called by death, Hon. John L. Pyle, attorney general of South Dakota, whose death from typhoid fever occurred upon February 21, 1902.

It has, of course, been impossible to keep rooms open at the capital, as contemplated by the organic act, for the reason that the funds at the disposal of the society have been too limited to admit of the necessary expense. It goes without saying that the work of the society has been hampered at every point by lack of funds, and but for the public spirit and enthusiasm of the officers and executive committee it could not have been carried forward at all.

It seems scarcely necessary to argue the value of the work of a historical society from the standpoint of education and good citizen making. Liberal appropriations are made annually by the legislature for instruction in our state institutions, in ancient and foreign history, and it seems a paradox that the history of our own commonwealth should be neglected, or so scantily provided for, that research is crippled or carried forward at private expense.

The society confidently hopes that the next legislature will see its way to provide a sufficient appropriation, so that at least one man may devote all of his energy to this important work.

The executive committee have held meetings from time to time for the transaction of routine business and to give the sec-

retary such advice as appeared advantageous to the work. At the meeting held upon March 7, 1901, Messrs. Cummins, DeLand and Riggs were appointed a financial committee, and all expenditures of money have been made with their approval and have been ratified by the full board.

At the meeting held upon October 9, 1901, Messrs. D. W. Robinson, Chas. E. DeLand and Doane Robinson were appointed a committee upon printing, and the various papers of this report have been prepared under their direction or upon assignment made by them.

The historical papers handed you herewith as a part of this report are presented with confidence in their historical accuracy and represent an amount of laborious research which will be appreciated by all who are conversant with work of this character. Every one is aware of the effort frequently involved, in securing testimony, to establish a fact which transpired but a few weeks ago. How much greater then the difficulty of determining a truth, hidden by the passage of a century? The latter task has been the undertaking of the editors of the several papers, and they have been exceptionally successful.

By the Executive Committee.

—Thomas L. Riggs, President.

—Doane Robinson, Secretary.

HISTORICAL SKETCH

— OF —

NORTH AND SOUTH DAKOTA

— BY —

WILLIAM MAXWELL BLACKBURN, D. D., LL. D.

1893

WITH EDITORIAL NOTES

— BY —

DR. DE LORME W. ROBINSON
AND AN APPRECIATION OF DR. BLACKBURN
BY THOMAS LAWRENCE RIGGS

NOTE BY THE SECRETARY

The persistent effort put forth by Dr. Blackburn, single-handed, to carry on the work of a state historical society during ten years of the state's history, as well as the fact that he left unpublished an outline history of the Dakotas, makes it, in the estimation of the executive committee, highly proper in this, the first volume of the collections of Dakota history, that his work be recognized by the publication of the subjoined papers; not more, however, to do honor to his memory than for their intrinsic historical worth. Few American historians have written with a broader view, better equipment, or greater honesty.

William Maxwell Blackburn, D. D., LL. D.

WILLIAM MAXWELL BLACKBURN, D. D., LL. D.[1]

BY THE PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIETY

Dr. Blackburn was born near Carlisle, Indiana, December 30, 1828; graduated from Hanover College in 1850 and took his theological course at Princeton. After seventeen years in the pastorate, for thirteen years he occupied the chair of Biblical and ecclesiastical history in the Theological Seminary of the Northwest—now McCormick Theological Seminary, at Chicago. A short term of three years in the pastorate at Cincinnati intervening, he was president of the University of North Dakota for one year, and in 1885 took charge of the Presbyterian Synodical College at Pierre, South Dakota, continuing there till the time of his death, December 29, 1898, rounding out a fruitful life of seventy years. He received from Princeton the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity and from Wooster University that of Doctor of Laws.

The ancestors of Dr. Blackburn were of Scotch-Irish blood. Tradition says that the family was of those who, under the persecutions of the time of Mary Stuart, left Scotland and joined the Huguenots in France in their struggle for religious liberty —a struggle seemingly disastrous in outcome, but vindicated in history as triumphantly glorious. Escaping from their pursuers, it is said that they crossed the English Channel in an open boat, and, about the time of the massacre of St. Bartholomew, returned to Scotland. Falling under the influences that were making for the settlement of the New World they came to America and settled in eastern Pennsylvania, members of the Pennsylvania colony. From there they extended their borders south and west into Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee and beyond. The famous pulpit orator, Dr. Gideon Blackburn, of Georgia, belonged to the Virginia branch, and from Kentucky came Governor Luke Blackburn and United States Senator Joseph Blackburn. The

grandfather of William Maxwell Blackburn, William, had his home in Kentucky, but, being opposed to slavery, came north and settled in the valley of the Wabash in Indiana. He was killed not long after at a house-raising and left his widow, a very superior woman, in that new country with a large family of children, of whom the second son, Alexander, became the father of the subject of this sketch. The mother was Delilah Polk, of the same general family as that of President Polk. She was of Kentucky birth and grew up amid the surroundings of Daniel Boone. Her father, Charles Polk, was born at Detroit, Michigan, whither his mother, made prisoner by the Indians in Kentucky, had been taken in midwinter, and his father did not see the boy until he was about two years old. Then the mother bore him on horseback back to Kentucky. Those were heroic days and produced heroic men and women; though not more heroic than these days of ours where conditions exist like those of that time. Not more than twenty-five years ago, I was with a party which rode in the bitterest of winter weather from the Rosebud Agency to Fort Sully, in South Dakota, and one of that party was an Indian woman who rode on horseback with the rest, having her five-year-old daughter strapped in her blanket upon her back. Often the child cried from the cold, and every member of the party suffered from frost, but the mother never made complaint. There are heroic men and women in these days!

The Blackburns and the Polks were thrifty and well-to-do, and belonged to the better educated class of farmers and business men. Alexander Blackburn and Delilah, his wife, bravely attacked the rugged conditions of pioneer life incident to building up a home and fortune for themselves and their children. They moved from the Wabash Valley when the eldest son, William Maxwell, was four years of age, going with an ox team a distance of two hundred and fifty miles into northern Indiana and making their home near La Porte. Probably but few of the incidents of that journey were permanently remembered by the boy, but the impressions made upon him could not easily be effaced. There was the long and slow journey; the encampment at night by stream and near rich meadows where the tired oxen grazed; the restful play at evening about the camp fire with the little brother, two years younger, who doubtless cried often and often was left

to cry, because mother was busy with the evening meal; then there were the rivers to cross and a part of the way a new country to traverse, while there were roads to cut through thick timber and other difficulties to overcome and trails to meet before they reached the rich prairie land known as Rolling Prairie in "the edge of some of the finest timber that ever grew." There they made their new home. Strong of character by inheritance, the circumstances of early pioneer life developed additional strength. And to this there was added the life-giving spirit of a true religious experience, so that in this pioneer home was ever a glad, joyous household. It was a good place for a boy to grow to young manhood. One writer has fitly characterized this home as "cheerfully religious," the words "cheerfully religious" being used with intention, for he goes on to say, "I was never in a home where the religious life was so prominent and yet never saw a more joyful home," and in the games of youth the "father and mother romped with all the enthusiasm of the youngest." It was here, in walks with his parents, that the future doctor of divinity and enthusiastic student of geology early learned to love the study of nature. His ready wit and sturdy character, so marked in later life, grew naturally, as does a plant in rich, well watered and carefully tended soil. There was nothing left to chance, and yet it is also true that but few boys needed less of supervision and guidance. His body grew healthy and robust in the life of a farmer's boy. The farm in those days was in a wheat growing region. The sickle gave place to the cradle and this to the famous McCormick reaper, one of the first three, it is said, manufactured by Cyrus McCormick. In the sowing and the reaping and then in threshing the grain, at first with an old-fashioned flail, and in marketing the result at Michigan City or New Buffalo, on the lake twelve miles away, the boy did his full share.

It is probable that he attended school when opportunity offered, but undoubtedly his earlier study of books was at home under the direction of his parents. His father is spoken of as a remarkably well educated man and a great reader, and as having taught school as occasion demanded. That Dr. Blackburn did not lack for early advantages is evidenced by the fact that at seventeen years of age he began to fit for college, and that he

graduated with honors shortly after reaching manhood's estate. At college he was a hard-working student, a ready debater, and early evidenced the clear logic and mental grasp of later days. After graduation a year was spent in teaching school, a winter term at La Porte and a summer term at Constantine, Indiana. His professional studies occupied the following three years, and we find him ordained as an evangelist and preaching at Three Rivers, Michigan, before reaching the age of twenty-five. Shortly before ordination he was married to Miss Elizabeth Powell, who, after treading life's journey fifty-five years with him, survived her husband but a few months, dying March 7, 1899.

The young preacher was always a student; he studied men and books and soon began to write. In his early pastorates his efforts at authorship were largely biographical and show the trend of his study; and out of these studies—or were they but an indication of the larger selection already made—the study of church history came to have for him attractions, and this became his chosen field.

In 1862 he spent some months in travel and study in the mother country. He also went to the continent and was in France, Spain, Switzerland and the Netherlands, where he devoted himself to careful study of the causes and events of the Reformation, that he might the more correctly interpret the far-reaching results of that religious upheaval. On his return there was published, during a pastorate of four years at Trenton, New Jersey, other biographical studies—lives of John Calvin, Ulric Zwingli, William Farrel, Aonio Palario, the great Swiss reformer, and a history of the Huguenots under the title "Coligny and the Huguenots," in two volumes; all of which appeared in rapid succession. When it is remembered that to the exacting responsibilities of a city church were also added the absorbing study of history in the life of the Christian church and the growth of doctrine, one is astonished at the amount of work accomplished. It is only when a powerful mind works effectively and without waste that such results appear. A partial list of the product of Dr. Blackburn's pen gives thirty-three titles to his credit. While still a pastor at Trenton he was offered the presidency of his alma mater. This he declined, though fully appreciating the honor of the call. It was rather as a student of

church history than in general administrative ability that he felt his power. In June, 1868, he was elected to the vacant professorship of ecclesiastical and church history in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Chicago. He entered upon the duties of the chair at once, and threw himself with all the zeal and the training of years of special study into meeting the needs of the position. The place had found the man and the man had found his place. It was as when a machine complete, made for a specific purpose and perfectly adjusted, falls into the steady stroke and regular beat of the accomplishment of that for which it was made. Dr. Blackburn enjoyed his work and worked with all his might. The amount of work he accomplished at this time is marvelous. Occupying the chair of a most important professorship, he assisted in making good vacancies in other chairs, supplied one or other of the city churches, delivered ecclesiastical and historical lectures outside, and made frequent contributions to periodicals and reviews, and made a steady advance in the preparation of his historical works. His "History of the Christian Church" was published about the time of his withdrawal from the seminary. It is well understood that this resignation was one of the attendant results of the David Swing heresy trial. Dr. Blackburn did not hold to Professor Swing's views, but defended the man in his right to hold these without being branded as a heretic. No one now remembers this trial—we do not know what it was about and wonder what was gained by it. Though Professor Swing was acquitted, he was virtually driven out, and the spirit of intolerance prevailed. With this Dr. Blackburn was not in sympathy, and resigned. Death came and further weakened the faculty, and it was years before the seminary could recover. Long before this Dr. Blackburn's reputation as an author and an authority in his chosen field had been settled. Not only in this country, but in Europe as well, his name was favorably known. A British review of the history of the Huguenots says: "In this work the author has gone to many fountain-heads and set them before the reader in all the distinctiveness of a dramatic picture. If there had been no authentic work on this most interesting subject written on this side of the Atlantic, here is one by an American author that admirably fills the needs," and of his "History of the Christian Church," one of our foremost American

reviews says: "Our own country has produced but few ecclesiastical historians of note; Dr. Philip Schaff and Dr. William M. Blackburn are the best. The volume of Dr. Blackburn's now before us is the most creditable general history of the Christian church that has appeared on this side of the Atlantic. Dr. Schaff has as yet covered only a part of the ground. The author is a professor of church history and a well-known lecturer and writer of learning and ability. His researches in general and ecclesiastical history have been widely extended, and his study of Christian doctrine has been thorough. His style is lucid, direct and forcible. His method is much better than that of the old German authors, not being encumbered with endless divisions and subdivisions, yet following a definite outline with a sufficiently minute analysis. The chapter on religious denominations is of peculiar value. We discover a spirit of fairness and candor which will doubtless secure for the work a wide acceptance among Christians of various names. The author is not unwilling to acknowledge the mistakes of those Christians with whom he would most naturally sympathize, and the virtue of those with whom he is known to differ in important respects. On the whole the history is a fine specimen of condensed, yet spritely historical writing. The work ought to have a place, not only in the theological seminaries and ministers' libraries, but in the families of intelligent Christians of all denominations."

European comment is no less favorable in the tone and spirit with which the author is regarded.

It was expected that the historical study of the church would be followed by a companion volume on the "History of Christian Doctrine." Upon this work had been spent years of study and research, and the manuscript was nearly completed and ready for the printer when this and other valuable notes were destroyed by fire. Such a loss cannot be recovered and the work was not re-written.

On withdrawal from the Chicago professorship, Dr. Blackburn was selected to be chancellor of the Western University at Pittsburg, Pennsylvania, which position he declined. A few years were spent in the pastorate at Cincinnati, when failure in the doctor's hitherto robust health and that of others of the family, brought them to North Dakota for a summer in the

Devil's Lake region. Quite unexpectedly to him, the University of North Dakota offered him the presidency. He accepted with many doubts and was entirely satisfied to continue the connection but one year. There was too much of politics in a position in a state institution to suit the doctor's make-up.

However, he did not choose to return to the older homes and cities from whence he had come. The wine of life and the breezes of the prairies had found way into his blood, and the doctor longed to take part in the work of empire building by making men of character in this newer land. He was called in 1885 to be president of the Presbyterian Synodical College of South Dakota at Pierre.

Until now the most of us had not known Dr. Blackburn. His stocky figure, strong face and active movements drew attention at once, and men beheld with a gasp the reckless dash with which the doctor, with hat well back on his head and sitting firmly in his two-wheeled cart, sent the half-wild pony through the streets. He became a familiar figure, and we came to love him, though it is doubtful if many fully appreciated him. He was never idle; work was the dominant note in his life. The habit of life had long been fixed and he could not have changed it if he would, and would not if he could, and the new college in a new region afforded ample field. It was the work of laying foundations, and the doctor strove to lay these deeply and well. Conscious of his own strength, of the great opportunity, and confident of hearty support by his associates in the churches and ministry of his order, nothing discouraged him—the work of the master builder was joy to him and inspiration to beholders.

It is to be regretted that, as seen from the outside, Dr. Blackburn's efforts in behalf of education at this outpost did not receive the loyal support they deserved. Hard times came and the new country did not develop according to plans laid in dreamland. Local jealousies, growing out of the bitter war waged upon Pierre by other aspirants for the capital, alienated some from the support of their college. To Dr. Blackburn there fell the greater burden. With a scanty corps of instructors, he was left almost unaided to secure pupils, and to some extent provide the necessary funds. Had he been a younger man, and had he been a college president of the modern type, it is alto-

gether possible that the institution would have weathered the period of stress and difficulty. But Dr. Blackburn was not of the modern type of college president—he was not a money-getter, and did not take kindly to this feature. Nor would he run into debt, and the result was that when funds were not forthcoming the doctor paid bills out of his own pocket, and when the pocket was empty did without, rather than incur indebtedness.

Dr. Blackburn was pre-eminently a teacher, and as such was remarkably successful. Whether in class or as a lecturer, or in the pulpit, he had the ability of a master. You could not talk with him on the street corner without learning something from him. He taught without effort—he simply could not help himself, for he was a born teacher. It is a pity that such men are obliged to attempt anything other than the chosen work of their high calling. With much the same power as that of Mark Hopkins did Dr. Blackburn teach men. If President Hopkins, sitting on a log with a student by his side, stood for a fully equipped college, the same might be said of President Blackburn and his student seated together on a boulder here in South Dakota.

In June, 1898, the college was removed from Pierre to Huron. Dr. Blackburn resigned from the presidency, was chosen president-emeritus and to give instruction in psychology and geology, and attended to the duties of his position through the first term of the college year. His death was sudden and painless and took place at his home in the city of Pierre. His body rests in the cemetery overlooking the city and the river beyond, while the ideals for which he strove, the purposes for which he lived and the men into whom he builded of his own lofty character remain, our rich inheritance from one most worthy, who has gone before.

This brief sketch has followed the course of only the larger events of Dr. Blackburn's life. It has not attempted to show in any adequate degree his life's abiding influence for good in this world's betterment, nor was it attempted as other than a sketch. Any just analysis of his life and the work accomplished would require much more time than the limits of this paper allow. A few sentences should be written giving in brief the estimate of men who knew him well as a writer, a preacher and a lecturer, and as a man whom to know was a joy and an inspiration.

As an author Dr. Blackburn made for himself an interna-

Hon. Geo. H. Hand

tional reputation before reaching the age of forty. His style was always that of vital youth. It was clear and full of vigor, almost electrical in effect. A tremendous worker and an insatiable reader, he had something to say on many topics, and he knew how to tell what he knew effectively. In his earlier days and in middle life, when the fire of authorship burned most, the productions of his pen were marvelous in variety and number—church history, biography, books for youth, tracts for the public and studies in many directions followed one another in volcanic profusion. Fact, fancy and argument were at his command.

As a lecturer he was early in demand. Within the first ten years of his work as a pastor, a writer refers to him thus: "He proved able and popular, young, brilliant, eloquent, full of life and energy, an untiring worker, with just enough of a strain of Scotch bluntness and independence in his make-up to make him bold and decisive of speech. He was never tame or commonplace, never merely rhetorical, but always argumentative, convincing and stimulating. As a lecturer and pulpit orator he was a perfect artist in word painting. His pictures of scenes that he had witnessed and descriptions of occurrences in which he had borne a part were as clearly and vividly shown before the imagination as if depicted on canvas." And these words continued to be true of his entire life. After coming to South Dakota we find him much in demand. He was interested in every educational effort. He was for one year, and possibly more, a member of the faculty of the Lake Madison summer school; he was also slated for lectures on psychology and geology. This was after he had taken up the special study of geology himself and had become interested in the Bad Lands, the traces of glacial drift and other open pages of the book of nature at hand in this broad and generous state. I cannot say what the psychological course was, but he was brim full of geological data and could not fail to be intensely interesting and instructive.

In the pulpit there were but few his equal. He spoke with conviction and with trained ability. There was nothing for show and no effort at "effect." He preached as he taught, out of a full life. His sermons were often severely logical in form and always logical in thought. As an exegete he was particularly

happy, and some one has said that his later sermons were running commentaries on the Scriptures.

A Calvinist by inheritance and training, he was broadly liberal in his recognition of the good in other systems. He would defend his own lines of faith, but never was intolerant of others. His youngest brother is a well known and widely honored clergyman of the Baptist denomination, and the two have always been one in sympathy and desire for the success of the other. When Dr. Blackburn chose to talk doctrinal theology he was fully able to hold his own. He would not, however, allow anyone to force a profitless discussion—too much like threshing over old straw. The story is told of a persistent effort to bring the doctor out on the dogma of infant damnation. Again and again was reference made to bring argument. "You Presbyterians believe that infants dying unregenerate are lost and eternally damned, don't you, now?" was the final attack. The doctor fairly lost his patience, and replied, "Well, suppose we do believe in infant damnation; suppose we do; it does not hurt the infants at all!"

It was not till after coming to South Dakota that Dr. Blackburn devoted himself especially to geological studies. The so-called Bad Lands had great attractions, and he made repeated visits to them, bringing strange casts and shapes of former life back with him. On such an expedition the doctor was a boy again. He wore his oldest clothing and had but little in appearance to recommend him. At one time, when on one of these expeditions, the party drifted into the mining regions of the Black Hills, and here was an opportunity to visit one of the deeper gold mines. This could not be neglected, and application was made to the superintendent, stating who the applicant was and his interest in science as additional reason for the favor desired. Now, the doctor was in traveling attire and had been out in the wilds for some weeks, and there was doubtless ample justification for the incredulous refusal of permission to visit the mines. "You Dr. Blackburn! You president of Pierre University! Not much! Why, Dr. Blackburn's a gentleman, he is!" Had the superintendent heard Dr. Blackburn preach the Sunday following he would have obtained truer knowledge of his identity, notwithstanding the clothes worn by him.

The earlier existence of our State Historical Society had inception in 1890. The first steps for public recognition were taken at a general meeting called for that purpose February 20, 1890, presided over by that grand and rather peculiar old hero, Rev. Edward Brown. Several meetings were held for perfecting the organization, resulting in the selection of permanent officers—Hon. George H. Hand as president, and Hon. O. H. Parker as secretary. It was not, however, till February 18, 1891, that the society was finally incorporated, and February 20, 1891, Dr. Blackburn was chosen to be permanent secretary. Of historical value, as probably the last specimen of the handwriting of Mr. Hand in the interest of the Historical Society, is a slip of paper now loose in the records, giving the fact of Dr. Blackburn's election as the matter of business attended to by the board and signed Geo. H. Hand, president. This slip has further an endorsement by Dr. Blackburn, stating the fact above mentioned relative to Mr. Hand's handwriting. President Hand died soon after, and though a general interest was kept up by individuals, the society, as such, fell into the domain of the future. Dr. Blackburn once grimly remarked that he hoped his election as secretary had not brought on the death of the original society! He quietly devoted himself to the collection and care of such objects of historical value as came in his way, and waited for the renewal of life which would surely come.

Dr. Blackburn was always interested in everything pertaining to the real advancement of the state and the community in which he lived. He was, moreover, keenly alive to the demand made upon him as a citizen for the public good. State and city politics, in the broader sense of the term, claimed his thought and effort. He was a wide reader. On all national questions he kept himself well posted, and international issues were fresh and living topics when he talked upon them. His life as a man and with other men was manly and robust. His thinking was never lacking in strength. He had a message to men, whether it were of life eternal or the open secrets of nature. This gave him power, for he lived up to the doctrine he taught. He had no patience with form for form's sake, and could not endure shams, nor could he abide fraud and deception. Absolutely fearless in support of truth as he saw it and always ready and eager to learn,

Dr. Blackburn never grew old. The eternal springs of youth were his. There was no such thing as "dry rot" in either head or heart.

At the appointed time the body failed and was laid to rest. The man still lives—he lives in the work he did, the characters he helped build, and in the remembrance of men. Such men truly live, and live forever.

—Thomas Lawrence Riggs.

Oahe, South Dakota, August, 1902.

EDITOR'S PREFACE

This "History of Dakota" by the late Dr. William M. Blackburn was written during the year 1892. In scope it is evidently what the author intended it to be, a mere outline history of events from the earliest time down to that date. In pursuing the delicate task of editing his work, I found myself in possession of none but a type-written copy of the author's text, which had never come under his critical and practiced eye for correction. Some errors were allowed to creep into it, and omissions were made which, without doubt, would have been remedied had the copy come under his observation.

It is not for me to say to what extent the supplementary editorial notes add to the value and interest of the author's work. The excellence of the text is an ample excuse for their number and variety, and in a measure for their character and form. If they are numerous it is because the author attained to a full degree what he evidently purposed to produce, a skeleton, a lucid tracing of the history of Dakota, and to place a guide-post upon every historic promontory. Neither did the editor expect to attain in these explanatory notes a corresponding literary excellence to the body of the work. The reader will fail to find in them the pure and simple diction and the direct and finished style of the author. I may, however, indulge the hope that they are, in subject matter, of such kind and character as might have been supplied by the author himself, had he lived to enlarge his work.

In the preparation of these notes I have endeavored to glean from the most authoritative historical publications obtainable. I have also used such portions of a large correspondence as seemed to me to be of value. Much available information has been secured by private talks with active participants, the fron-

tiersmen, the men of Harney's time, of Sully's time and of Custer's time, not to forget those earlier Dakotans, the old trappers and fur gatherers, who clung to their first haunts after the conditions which created their kind had vanished. A few of these human relics of a past epoch, though old and infirm, still live within our borders. I have found it necessary in a few instances to question the authenticity of seemingly well established facts and dates; as, for example, the date, 1780, which I believe has been generally accepted as the time when the first settlement was made in Dakota at Pembina; as also the name of the first continuous white resident and the date of the commencement of his residence. I have endeavored in such cases, though at the expense of some repetition in the different notes, to bring out sufficient collateral evidence on points of fact.

When a considerable portion of the information upon the subject matter of any topic covered by a note has been procured from the same source, the authority has been cited and due credit given to the author, but when such information has been obtained from many and varied sources no citation has been made.

The editor has not expected that these notes will make a full and finished history of the author's text. Future study of our history will doubtless reveal many flaws and mistakes, and suggest many alterations and corrections in the work done. There is certainly room for large additions to it. It will be an ample compensation to me, however, if the effort made will stimulate some one who has more time and a greater opportunity to gather and put in form the rich historical harvest we possess.

Finally, I wish to extend grateful acknowledgment to those who so kindly responded to inquiries made by me regarding subjects treated of in my work. I hereby extend sincere appreciation to Major Charles P. Jordan of Rosebud Agency, S. D., Louis LaPlant, Bazil Clement, Van Meter, Ben Arnold and other old residents, yet living, and to the memory of many now dead, whom I have consulted from time to time and to whom I am indebted for many facts and collateral evidence.

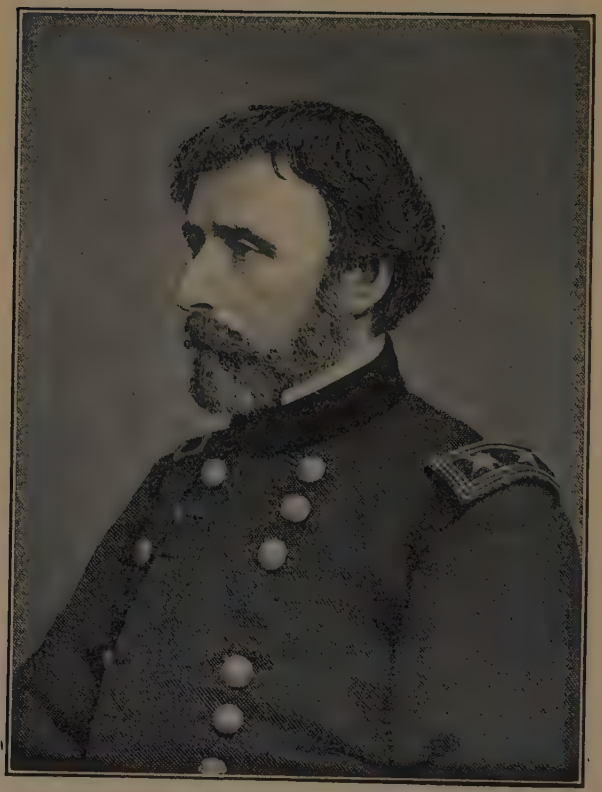
I am also particularly indebted to Mr. J. W. Cheney, librarian of the war department library, Washington, D. C., for generous aid; to Thomas L. Riggs, president of the society, for

valuable suggestions, and to Mr. Doane Robinson, secretary of the society, for much varied and patient assistance and judicious and indispensable advice, and to Mr. William J. Hovey of Fort Pierre.

And since the foregoing was written I have been placed under deep obligations to Rev. Martin Kenel of Fort Yates, North Dakota, for extensive contributions of information relating to Gall and John Grass.

—DeLorme W. Robinson.

Pierre, S. D.



Gen. John C. Fremont

Father Peter John DeSmet, S. J.

A HISTORY OF DAKOTA

THE BEGINNINGS

The two states of Dakota were once part of the vast Dakotaland, extending from the Mississippi to the Missouri River. Hence, they share with Minnesota in the history of exploration and early settlement. They had peculiarities which marked them as North and South divisions of one Dakota years before the one was made twain. The name was taken from the Dah-ko-tas, of whom nomadic bands had hunting grounds on the great plains, before the present century. Westward they had held their conquering way, deserving the title of Sioux,[1] or enemies of the tribes they slaughtered or expelled. They robbed the older robbers, and the fugitives left behind them the mounds and lodge-circles of an older race.[2]

For unrecorded centuries Dakota was a land of life, vegetable, animal and human. So the first white explorers found it. The fur companies gathered wealth from its wilds. It has scarcely a lake or stream or wooded valley that has no romantic story of the daring hunter, the cunning trapper, the shrewd trader and the prudent agent of the Hudson Bay Company, or its more American competitors.

The Red River Valley claims the first log cabin built on Dakota soil. In 1780[3] a French trader had his post near the plum thickets and the cranberries (nipimina) that gave the Indian name Pembina to it and to the river that winds through the woods of various kinds of trees. The first known English literature[4] penned under Dakota shades is in the journal of the younger Alexander Henry,[5] who traveled widely for twelve years (1799-1811) to establish the fur trade. He tells of the buffalo herds, red deer, black and grizzly bears, and the old fort at Pembina, visited by the astronomer, David Thompson.[6] His company sowed garden seeds on the site of "an old fort built by Peter Grant,[7] years

ago, the first establishment ever built on the (east bank of) Red River."

At Grand Forks, 1801, he found evidence of a large camp of Sioux, lately on the war path. He placed there John Cameron[8] to establish a trading post, with its mill, canoes, barges and Red River carts whose pristine "wheels were each one solid piece sawed from the ends of trees three feet in diameter." Thus began that now flourishing city. Mr. Henry introduced better horses into that wide valley, if some of the best were not his transports across the plains to the Missouri.

In the lower valley of the Pembina River was part of Lord Selkirk's[9] colony, even after Major Long,[10] in 1823, settled the latitude for them so that their British flag was hauled down. The major found there a motley group, dependent on the fur trade. "There were English, Scotch, French, Italian, Germans, Swiss, half-breeds, and Indians of the Chippewa,[11] Dakota and Crow[12] nations," living mainly on the buffalo, but also raising small quantities of wheat, corn, barley, potatoes, turnips and tobacco. The only good colonists were the Scotch. The major saw, coming in from their hunt, a procession of "115 carts, each loaded with 800 pounds of buffalo meat, and 300 persons, men, women and children." It was led by twenty hunters, mounted on the best of their two hundred very good horses.

A solid oak post was set on the international line, which so cut the town of sixty houses that only one cabin stood on the British side of it. No record shows how many of these people, and of the Selkirkers in the Pembina Valley, still clung to the shady retreats along that river, where a stone fire-place unearthed here and there, or the ruins of a milldam, scarcely prove desertion to the British flag; but thus began settlement and trade in Dakota,[13] then unnamed and undefined. Romance has been pleased to hear, so early on her soil, "the song of the plowboy and the hum of the spinning wheel wakening echoes in the timber along the Pembina River."

Before this time Mr. Henry had left the Missouri Valley, where he wrote of the Mandans[14] and their fine cornfields, cultivated by women with a hoe made by fastening a stick to the shoulder blade of a buffalo. He saw a huge pile of bones where three hundred attacking Sioux had been slain. As the guest of

Chief Chat Noir (Black Cat), he was assigned "a hut ninety feet in diameter," over which his honoring host put up the American flag lately given him by Lewis[15] and Clarke.[16]

Soon after the Louisiana purchase, which annexed the Great West to the United States, Captains Lewis and Clarke became leaders in the exploration of the new Northwest.[17] Rowing their skiffs up the Missouri, they reached the mouth of the Teton, opposite the present Pierre, September 24, 1805, and remaining a day to hold a council with the Tetons,[18] "a band of Sioux, the pirates of the Missouri." Very insolent and hostile, the chiefs opposed the movement of the strangers landward until the officers told them that there was smallpox enough on board to kill twenty such nations in a day, and that a boatward move was perilous. Farther up the river the party was invited ashore to accept the hospitality of the Indians—eighty lodges of them—who made a basket-boat of buffalo hides, and in it conveyed Lewis and Clarke to their council house, where they evinced their friendship in a dog-feast and grand dance, with the most rattling music and a stunning display of human scalps.

Although the expedition of Lewis and Clarke gave little scientific information touching the great valley of the Missouri, nevertheless it furnished the most reliable and interesting account of the country, its inhabitants and wild game, that had then been given to the public. It also gave a very correct idea of the great river and its affluents, and was no doubt instrumental in hastening the more perfect exploration and settlement of the country. It also gave a fresh impetus to the fur trade, and pioneered the way for forts and trading posts.[19]

The earliest of the fur companies, that established trading posts on the upper Missouri, was headed by Manuel Lisa,[20] a Spanish gentleman, whose men worked their boats up the current from St. Louis about the year 1814,[21] when the Dakotas heard rumors of the war with Great Britain. With him was a friendly "one-eyed Sioux,"[22] whose effort to persuade his people to favor the United States was as unsuccessful as most attempts of that kind have been ever since. The Spaniard was the forerunner of Pierre Chouteau,[23] of St. Louis, who conducted the first steamboat to the place which received from him the name, Fort Pierre.[24] It was about three miles above the present Fort Pierre

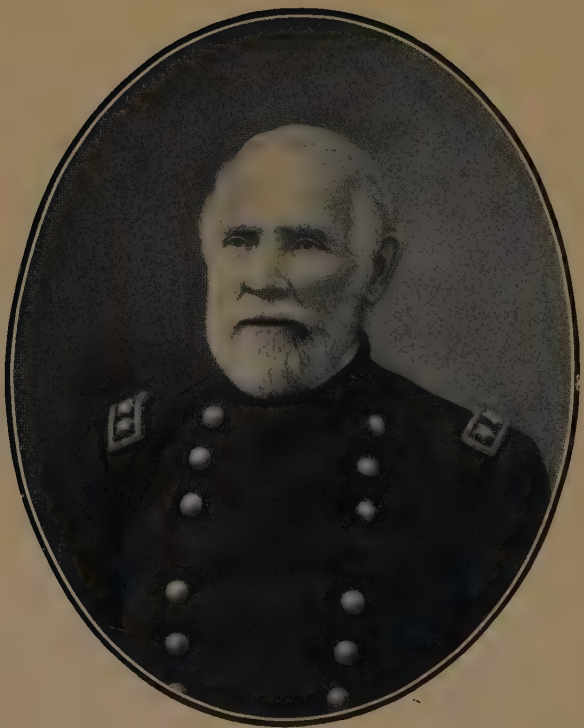
The fort was on the west side of the river. It has been called "one of the seven historic points of Dakota." There the long expansion of valley attracted the prehistoric dweller in lodge circles, the later tent-man, the hunter, the explorer, the fur-trader, the army fort-builder and the locator of town sites. The intrepid Chouteau, manager of the dominant fur company then in the Northwest, was virtually the river king, with posts and forts subordinate to Fort Pierre. It naturally became a center of trade and of treaties with the Indians. From it, in 1839, Nicollet[25] and Fremont, "the pathfinder," started on their exploration so important to the development of the West. In 1855-6 General Harney[26] and his force of 1,200 men had their winter encampment at this point, thereafter regarded as prominent on a highway of civilized men. It was sold to the United States government and became a national station.[27]

There George Catlin,[28] 1832, painted reluctant Sioux chiefs and roused the wrath of those whom he did not finish on canvas. He wrote of the fine grass in the valley, grass on the bluffs, and grass for the immense buffalo herds on the plains over which he led his pack horse from the Indian village where Yankton now stands to Fort Pierre. He advertised, even in Europe, the valley of the Missouri, by his letters, paintings and exhibitions of live Sioux, but who then cared to question the correctness of the blank stamped on the map as "The Great American Desert?"

UNDER WHICH GOVERNMENT?

Meanwhile there was a new deal of laws among the territories. Dakota had passed under the foreign flags of Britain, Spain and France; then, in 1803, under the American. During forty-six years it had lain successively and dividedly under the territorial names of Indiana, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin and Iowa. In 1849, it was still the plum pudding to be cut in shares for the new territories, and there was "enough to go round." During five years, three of them had these shares. Minnesota had the east part, Mandan the west, and later Nebraska had the part southwest of the Missouri River. A united future Dakota might be dimly discerned in these mosaics.

In 1851, the legislature of Minnesota created the immense Dakota county. With his warrant, its sheriff might chase a horse



Gen. William S. Harney

thief from Lake Pepin to Yankton or Fort Pierre. In it was the fine strip of land just ceded by the Indians to the federal government, and lying between the Big Sioux River and the present west line of Minnesota.[29] It was the first land in Dakota obtained from the Indians. On it was made the first attempt at white settlement in South Dakota. The Iowa men who first located land at Sioux Falls (1856) were ordered off by the Sioux, and they went; but soon returning, they took possession of 320 acres, and built a small stone house. In May, 1857, certain St. Paul men formed the Dakota Land Company, with flying colors came up the Minnesota River on a steamer to New Ulm, drove overland to the Big Sioux, located a town site and named it for Governor Medary, passed down that river and founded another town. The air was fresh with the name of the Indian agent, Charles E. Flandrau,[30] whose troops had just chased the murderous Inkpaduta[31] and his band across that stream to the James River to rescue captives,[32] and the site was named Flandreau. The speculative efforts of the land company were arrested the next year, when the Indians rose in their might and drove the settlers from the upper Sioux Valley. For years the place was a ruin, so that the rise, decline and sudden fall of the old town is a distinct and mournful prelude to the history of the renewed and prosperous Flaudreau. And the anomaly is that the rehabitation of the town was largely due to Indians. They had now learned the alphabet of culture from teachers who had been dispersed by the Sioux massacre of 1862 in Minnesota, and they came to make homes in the Sioux Valley, not far from the famous Pipestone quarry, which furnished them the red rock for the pipe of peace. For them a trading post (1869) was established at Flandreau, and the town grew. It has its Sioux church and a government Indian school, with a goodly population of white Dakotans.

With no foresight of such results, the town founders passed down the river to Sioux Falls, where they laid out a city—their happiest investment. It had a hopeful population of five men, and it was in July, 1857, the largest city in South Dakota. Not long was their prosperity assured. Learning that bands of Sioux were sweeping down the valley, they left in a canoe, and thus began the oft-mooted navigation of the Big Sioux[33] to its junc-

of pre-emption and homestead. Among the first residents of Yankton were General Todd, G. D. Fiske,[40-2] and others whose names appear in the counties of Hanson,[40-3] Edmunds, Burleigh, Ziebach[40-4] and Stutsman.[40-5] Other new towns have given us "names that adorn and dignify the scroll whose leaves contain their country's history."

It was the privilege of intelligent pioneers to talk of self-government, with a laudable ambition. An event impelled them to act. It was the shearing off from Minnesota when it became a state, March 1858, of all the country west of its present lines. The two thousand settlers, quite evenly distributed in the six present counties of Pembina, Minnehaha, Union, Clay, Yankton and Bon Homme, were about all the white Dakotans then claiming citizenship. And of what were they citizens? For three years Dakota was without legal name or existence, and their laws were simply the acts of congress, in which they had no representative.[40-6]

The first document printed in Dakota was a notice, small in form, but great in assumptions of facts and of right. It ran: "At a mass convention of the people of Dakota Territory, held in the town of Sioux Falls, September 18, 1858, all portions of the territory being represented, it was resolved and ordered that an election be held for members to compose a territorial legislature.—Dakota Democrat Print, Sioux Falls City." The said Democrat, the first newspaper in Dakota, had not yet sent out its first number, but there was no partiality in making it "the official organ" of the body thus ordered elected, and in that fall convened in the aforesaid town. A provisional legislature could not legislate into authority, though it did elect certain state officers provisionally, e. g., Henry Master,[41] governor. This process of holding such a legislature was repeated the next year. The main results were petitions to the national legislature for territorial organization; the election of J. P. Kidder[42] as delegate to congress; the persistent earnestness of nearly 600 men assembling twice at Yankton in the winter of 1860-1, and signing a new petition for the one great object; the passage of the Organic Act in February, and the approval of it, March 2d, by President Buchanan.

Philips Herd of Buffalo, Fort Pierre, 1902

LeSeuer's Map, Published 1701

So remote was Dakota from railway and telegraph (though only half way across the continent) that the news did not reach Yankton for eleven days. To spread the good tidings only one home newspaper was abroad in the land.[43] The Dakotian, F. M. Ziebach, editor, Yankton, was to come the next June in good time to extend the right hand of patriotic, if not political, fellowship to the first executive of Dakota Territory.

THE FLIGHT OF PIONEERS

The territory was immense, the largest organized in the United States. It extended west, far beyond bounds of white settlement, to the undefined line called the Rocky Mountains. It included the present Montana and the eastern slopes of Idaho, but its people were only a few thousands—2,402; fewer than the numbers in almost the least of the many Indian tribes that used its 220,000,000 acres for shifting lodging camps and hunting grounds, unwilling to make farms and stock ranches upon them. Only the lower and branching valleys of the Red, the Big Sioux, the James rivers, all of the Vermillion and an eastern part of the Missouri, with the intervening uplands, were open legally to white settlement. And upon the less part of them had settlers placed their "shacks," built their small farm houses, staked out town sites, or founded incipient cities. Most of the people had come with slender capital; many on foot with light luggage. Little wealth had yet been won. The chief source of it, then known, was the land, and "holding down a claim" was the main employment of the earnest, toiling, hopeful pioneers who had come to stay, talk least of their privations, and make most of their opportunities.

It was a red letter day, May 27, 1861, when Yankton, the future capital, and her guests gave welcome to William Jayne, M. D.,[44] the governor, an intimate friend and fellow townsman of President Lincoln, who had appointed him. There was no mistake in sending this accomplished and loyal gentleman to govern an intelligent, enterprising and patriotic people. They may have wondered why all the federal officers, except the secretary, John Hutchinson, of Minnesota, were imported from distant states, but that fact came by an old rule. They were law-abiding at a time when law-breaking and revolt were rending the nation in

twain, and were soon to disturb the Territory. First the southron, then the Sioux, had their restraining effects upon the development of a country then so dependent upon immigration, peaceful industries and the westward extension of railroads.

The memorable ice gorge below Yankton, and the high flood in the valley, in March, 1862, did not prevent the first legislature from convening on St. Patrick's day. The nine members of the council and the thirteen representatives met in private houses, held sessions for sixty days, enacted a creditable code of laws, and had the first free "capital fight" (worse than a flood), Yankton being the winner, over Sioux Falls,[45] the oldest, and Vermillion, the largest, town in South Dakota.

Already the call to arms for service in the great national conflict had reached Dakota. Among the volunteers who responded was Nelson Miner, for whom a county was afterwards named.[46] With due authority he organized Company A, First Dakota Cavalry, became its captain and served three years and a half, becoming one of the most noted Indian fighters in the West. Another later company was mustered into the United States service under Captain William Tripp. These warriors were all needed on Dakota soil.

The August of 1862 began with gladdening promise. The crops were fine and new settlers were coming in encouraging numbers. The Yankton Sioux and the Poncas were friendly to the white people, and were trusted as protectors against the hostile tribes along the upper Missouri River. Yet certain roving Indians were foraging in the Sioux Valley. On one of their raids, August 25, 1862, Judge Amidon[46-2] and his son were shot down in their cornfield near Sioux Falls, the lad being nearly covered with arrows. A squad of Captain Miner's cavalry was out scouring the country, when a party of Indians came over the bluffs, fired into their camp and fled to the river, where they hid in the high grass and the woods.

Not yet had the people of Sioux Falls heard of the dreadful Sioux massacre going on in western Minnesota, but soon two couriers from Yankton came with the alarming news and with orders from Governor Jayne, commanding the soldiers to march at once thither and bring with them all the settlers in the valley. The fear was that Little Crow and his allies might send their

braves from the Minnesota River into Dakota. At once there was a stampede of white people, taking with them what goods they could readily pack, and most of their live stock, and leaving their crops, their houses and their hopes of fortune in Dakota, perhaps forever.

Yankton became a place of refuge for the frightened pioneers, who did not all take steamers and leave the country. The remaining Yanktonians gave welcome to all who came from near and far settlements. A sod stockade was thrown around the printing office of the Dakotian, and Editor Ziebach was provisionally "chief of the army of Fort Yankton."[47] Sixty brave men guarded the capital, but no Indians came near enough to draw a random shot from their guns. Thus several weeks passed, and the panic was calmed in that quarter.

In response to the governor's call for men to enlist as the militia of the territory, about four hundred citizens responded and left their fields, shops, stores and offices, to protect the frontier homes and families from the expected attack. They furnished their own outfit, even the fire-arms. Some fortifications were thrown up at a few points. But where was the enemy in any organized force? Skulking Indians, here and there, were waylaying a defenseless man, robbing a mail carrier, killing a stage driver or wounding a ferryman. But Little Crow,[48] as it was learned later, had reason to hold his braves in Minnesota, and when defeated to slip away straight toward Manitoba. The Sioux, trading at Fort Pierre,[49] had not put on the war paint at his request. At that point the government had troops, which were strongly reinforced in the next June, when General Sully[50] built at Pierre (east side of the river) the fort[51] which bore his name, and which was afterwards removed to its present location, nearly opposite the mouth of the Big Cheyenne.

Never be it forgotten that the old chief, Struck-by-the-Ree, was standing heroically between the remnant of settlers and the more savage of his people, among whom was his rival, Smutty Bear, and the marauding Santees. Fifty of his men were enlisted as guards and scouts by Governor Faulk, who afterwards said: "This venerable chief never quarreled with the whites, never stole from them, but lived and died at peace with them. He was really a great man. I have heard him in many a council,

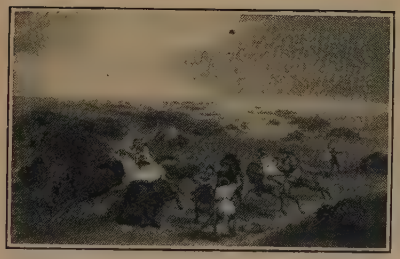
and once in a conversation with me he extended both his hands and said, in a voice and manner which I shall never forget: 'Not a drop of white man's blood is on these hands.' It was a most touching scene."

Late in the autumn of 1862, Captain Miner and about twenty men rode from Yankton across the deserted country to see what was left of Sioux Falls. They were prudent; they camped three miles south of the town. The captain's reconnoitre by moonlight, without the sign of a live Indian, encouraged the owners of property there to view the desolate scene by daylight. They all started in the dawning; they reached the top of the south hills, and to their surprise a party of mounted Indians arose out of the valley, and formed in battle array on the north bluffs. The Indians were largely in the majority, but the captain and his men knew there is often a tremendous power in earnest minorities. With supreme audacity, that alone was their safety, they dashed forward. The Sioux, thinking that the skirmishers of an army were after them, broke in disorder for the woods. The pursuers overtook one rascal who had run his pony into a bog, leaped off and fled for life. While he was protesting that he was a "heap good injun," they ended his career on earth.[52] The rest of his band were now in the bush, or in taller woods. The captain led his men back into the devastated town, where only three houses remained unburnt. They gathered up a few relics of the ruined city, and wisely rode back fifty miles, with only one brief halt at the Vermillion River.

Living men, brave at the time, and ever sympathetic women, are now apt to find humor in "the great scare." They recall many a ludicrous incident in the hurried flight, when the dusky foes were nowhere near in strong force on the war path; but the settlers found it serious enough. Certainly the stampede almost depopulated South Dakota, and the Sioux Valley remained almost deserted until May, 1865, when Fort Dakota[53] was established at Sioux Falls, and kept well manned for four years.

IMMIGRATION RENEWED

One January morning, 1861, a stranger was viewing the town lots of Yankton, mostly vacant, when fifteen of the hardest roughs employed in the river trade saw him passing the rude



Gen. John C. Fremont, Hunting Buffalo at Pierre, 1839

saloon of "a Mexican, a rebel." They urged him to drink unto them. He declined; they tried to pull him in. He was not a man to forget that wisdom is better than strength when fighting is in vain. On his plea that they might drink if they chose, but whisky made him sick, they excused him.

He was Newton Edmunds.[54] When the dread of Indian massacre came, and the Mexican was not thought to be a safe man to dispense fire-water, the public sentiment was that the saloon must go. An officer was ordered to close it, but he refused. Mr. Edmunds stepped forward and asked that the order be given him. He went to the Mexican, reasoned with him about the public safety, and thus reported the result: "Now I insist that you close your saloon at once. I will see that you are not injured. He gave me the keys on the spot." This was the first known prohibition movement in Dakota,[54-2] and the mover became territorial governor (1863-9) after Dr. Jayne was elected delegate to congress.

During the earlier part of Governor Edmunds' wise administration the legislature had few settlers for whom to devise new laws. There were more soldiers to encourage the return of pioneers and the incoming of fresh immigrants, but there were more red men to advertise the country unfavorably. Part of the Sioux involved in the massacres which aroused Minnesota to expel that "great nation" from her domain were under tutors and governors, in a guarded camp at Fort Thompson[55] on the Missouri. Other bands were driven, or removed, to the upper valleys of that river. Farther still, others fled before the tramp of the conquering generals, Sibley[56] and Sully. Among the friendly Indians with General Sibley on his campaign to Devil's Lake in 1863, was Gabriel Renville,[57] who became chief of the Sioux tribes on the Sisseton reservation, lying west of Lake Traverse and Big Stone, and watched by Fort Abercrombie.[58] They led a peaceable life. The rest of them grew in the moral and civic habits which they had begun to learn in Minnesota at the mission schools that were broken up in the Sioux massacre. Their war dance had ceased, and the grass dance soon must go. The Cut-Head Sioux at Devil's Lake, long accustomed to the fur trader, used less war paint after General Sully camped there in 1865-6, chose the spot for Fort Teton,[59] and let the wily Sitting Bull[60] know its

power. By this time Dakota had a large number of forts to keep the peace.

> "And still the eastward wind bore far
> The dread of raid and massacre."

Indians, grasshoppers and continued misfortunes abated the political and agricultural ardor of a despondent people. Only 607 votes were polled for delegate to congress in 1864, Dr. W. A. Burleigh[61] having the majority over General Todd. To show people that he had confidence in the future of Dakota, the half-breed, Mr. Charles F. Picotte, put up a two-story hall, then large and pretentious, which became the first capitol of Dakota, and was used for five years. In it the first session of the supreme court for Dakota was held.

To enlist and settle a colony in a far-off land of shadeless prairies and frontier privations required more than the tact and daring of the Pilgrim Fathers, for its members were leaving the inherited homes, the orchards, the schools, the churches, the friendships and the daily papers in an old state; but James S. Foster and his associates organized the "New York Colony" at Syracuse to locate somewhere west on government land, start a town as the center of a farming community, and grow up into the country. In August, 1863, he spied out various land in the long Missouri Valley, returned and reported in favor of the Eschol, whence he scarcely bore grapes, pomegranates and figs. One hundred families accepted the report of our Caleb, started in April, 1864, on a special train of twenty cars, reached Marshalltown, and there the faint-hearted concluded that Iowa was good enough for them. The braver joined the caravans of ox teams that wended on its westward way and reached the bluffs of the Big Sioux. There resting, they gazed on the grassy ocean of Dakota plain, the majestic Missouri bordered with green timber, and a vast solitude inviting the plowman, the builder, and the merchant. Twenty miles farther on, several members chose farms, erected cabins and put in spring crops. Yankton became the home of fifteen families; of them were James S. Foster,[62] whom Governor Edmunds soon appointed territorial superintendent of public instruction, though he must plant the very schools to be nurtured by him; and Gideon C. Moody,[63] who became prominent in public works and political affairs. The colo-

nists did not strictly form the intended colony. When some of them left on account of the dry season, Mr. Foster suggested that in that very year there was severe drouth in several states, even in New York, and that good crops were raised in Dakota on well tilled ground. And General Sully's cavalry reported that the corn crops of the Indians in the upper country were excellent, not having been withered by drouth nor eaten by grasshoppers,[64] the pest in many states.

Here, be it said, once for all, that Mr. Foster's two-fold suggestion will apply to the drought of later years. It was not limited exclusively to Dakota. It was not in any year universal in Dakota, and where it was severest the best farming was not an entire failure. It came to more people unprepared for drought in their new country than in an older land of accumulated wealth. It taught them the wisdom of diversified farming. In few localities was there such a withering of grass that cattle must be driven afar for water and pasture. Many were the afflictions of Dakotain dry times, yet they were such as have been common to new states where, or while, agriculture was the leading pursuit of slenderly equipped pioneers.

THE GOLDEN GATE ALMOST AJAR

Beyond the grasshopper, gold. The whispered story of it for long years had not won belief. The fur traders had a hint of it. Father DeSmet,[65] the zealous missionary in the northwest, was cautiously telling that "in the Black Hills of Dakota, beyond the ken of the white man, and where his feet have never trod, there is gold enough with which to pay off the debt of the nation, and for that matter, the entire debt of the world." But he would not make known the precise localities of it, lest he should lose his influence over the Indians or prompt white men to take possession of their lands. Charles F. Picotte says that in the spring of 1865 he was one of a party trading with the Indians, and having quarters at Bear Butte, near the present Fort Meade[66] and Sturgis, where Dr. F. V. Hayden,[66-2] the government geologist, found him. "I used to travel with him, that is, I would hunt for game, while he was hunting for petrifactions. He always carried a stone hammer. One day he and I went up the Bear Butte (creek); he was examining rocks, as usual, and sud-

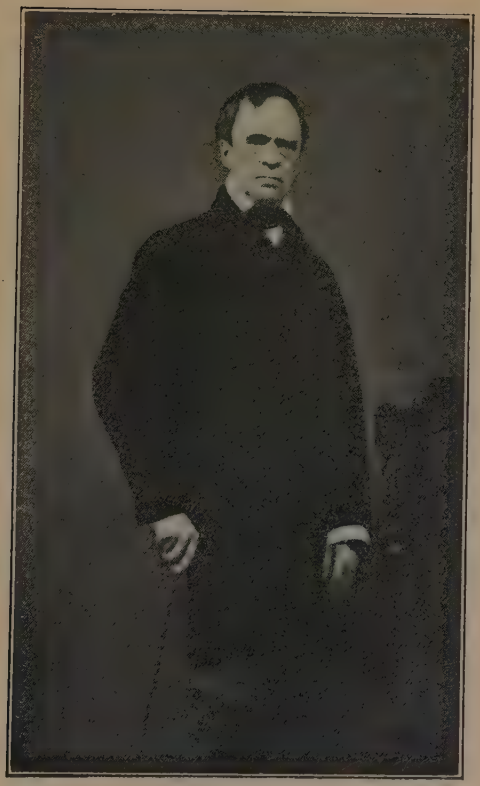
denly he turned to me and said, 'There is gold here,' and the story was likely to circulate widely." Four years later, Dr. Hayden said in an official report on the Black Hills, "Enough was determined to show that gold and silver occur in greater or less quantities, and that all other minerals occur in abundance."

Marvelous stories of gold nuggets, found along streams, which could not be identified by their hard Indian names, came to white frontiersmen in the Missouri Valley. Private parties were organized to pentrate the Black Hills and unveil the deep mysteries hanging over them, but they were prevented by the United States government, or by the Indians, who held the hills for hunting grounds and the eastward plains for cultivation, if any impulse to farming should possibly evolve from the squaw gardens of the untutored Sioux.

Thus Dakota proper had not the benefit, or the injury, of a "rush to the gold regions." The hidden wealth of the Hills was passed by in 1862-75, and far away on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountain was the golden magnet discovered. Thither went the pack horses, the wagon trains, the stage coaches, from the ferries of the Missouri River between Yankton and Fort Pierre. In 1863 more than 12,000 people migrated to the mines of Idaho. The next May congress ran the shears through the map of Dakota Territory, so that the new Territory of Montana was formed of the extended part and of eastern Idaho, with a population of 10,000 and soon a yearly product of $7,000,000 in gold.

But there must be roads to riches. The twenty large steamboats on the Missouri, whose decks were paced by impatient seekers of fortune or stacked with freight for the soldiers and Indians, and machinery for the mines, encouraged travel that demanded a short route across the Dakota plains. In 1865 congress appropriated $85,000 for the opening of three wagon roads through Dakota Territory to the distant mines which she could no longer claim. But she had two out of the three road-makers, Colonel Gideon C. Moody, who laid out the road from Sioux City up the Missouri to the Cheyenne River, and Judge W. W. Brookings, whose line included the famous road from Fort Pierre to the Black Hills, so far as it then could be opened in the face of Sioux hostility. The judge seems to have risked his

Stephen R. Riggs, D. D



George Catlin

Strikes-the-Ree, at 92 Years of Age

life far out on the plain, where Indian eyes were upon his party, with no military escort. C. F. Picotte says: "We had only fifteen men, and it was a very bold thing for us to go there at that time with so small a force." These roads greatly aided in the development of South Dakota.

Roads across the Sioux country required troops to guard the bridge-makers and then the wagon trains upon them. The Indians disputed the government right of way. They claimed that it had been granted by the Cheyennes farther south, but not by the Sioux. They complained that the roads would be ruinous to them, for the "movers" to Montana were killing and scaring away all the game. Many millions had already been spent in fighting the Sioux, and the fight went on with no end in sight. Governor Edmunds said personally to President Lincoln: "In my judgment peace can be had and a stop put to this enormous expenditure, at a cost to the government of not more than $30,000." The president informed Senator Thaddeus Stevens, who proposed $25,000 in the appropriation bill, and the bill passed.

In the summer of 1865 Governor Edmunds was one of the commissioners on a boat that moored at Fort Berthold[68] on the upper Missouri. He had declined to take with him a military guard. Invited by Picotte and other runners, about two thousand wily Blackfeet Sioux came to the landing, arms drooping, and began to board the steamer. The captain exclaimed, "We shall be killed as certain as the world." "No, I guess not," replied the governor, who went right into the crowd of scrambling braves. With kindly words he quieted them and said: "When the great father sends the white brother to make peace with the red brother, he sends him unarmed; but when he sends us to war with you, he sends soldiers to fight you."

The great chief talked a little with his warriors, and, surprisingly, they moved off the boat and laid down their arms. They were ready for a long parley. When asked why they came armed they said, "The white man has lied to us." The governor was not there to argue, nor to hold a big council for displays of eloquence and stifling smoke, but to make peace without the pipe of it. He dealt out the presents he had brought, blankets for the chiefs, calico for the women, and flour for all. A treaty was effected. Thus began a series of treaties, which gave to Newton

Edmunds the noble fame of a just peacemaker, and engaged the wisdom of his successor, General Andrew J. Faulk,[69] another time-tried and approved citizen of Yankton. He had trusted his Sioux scouts, and all their people might trust him for his candor and justice. He was associated with General W. T. Sherman and others in the treaty at Fort Laramie,[70] 1868, which located the "Great Sioux nation" on the large country which then included all Dakota west of the Missouri River, and south of its upper waters. Afterwards parts of it were assigned to Wyoming and Nebraska, thus leaving the geography of Dakota as it is now described by the boundaries of the two states. It was a territory about 400 miles long north and south, and 385 miles wide. It had an area of about 151,000 square miles, or 96,640,000 acres. More than one-third of those acres were in the red man's land.

The main feature of the white man's Dakota, in Governor Faulk's administration, was growth, along with the pleasure of seeing it. There were generally good crops and a fair home market; welcome surges in the tide of immigration, and among residents an increasing sentiment against taking land by pre-emption and leaving it to go back to its native wilderness; the turning of the sod on a thousand new farms, and the founding of more towns than the farming communities could sustain; advance in education, and the first general teachers' institute, held at Elk Point with twenty teachers under Superintendent Foster (1867); holding elections, usually not very spirited; legislating with no serious disturbance of the laws; and with a new law providing for a commissioner of immigration, Governor Faulk appointed James S. Foster to the office (1869); with party conventions and resolutions favoring the reservation of the public lands of Dakota for actual settlers (homesteaders); the early construction of railroads in the new country, and "a hearty welcome to the people who have recently settled in our territory." In 1869, a railroad had reached Sioux City, Iowa, and it had only one more river to cross to enter the large Dakota-land.

whose population was then estimated at 12,000, not including the ranchmen of Wyoming. And more were on the way. Whittier seemed to have a vision of their wagon trains, when he wrote:

"They cross the prairies as of old
The Pilgrims crossed the sea,
To make the West, as they the East,
The homestead of the free."

The legislature of 1868-9—the last annual—recommended a full set of officers for federal appointments in Dakota, chosen from citizens thereof. Several of the named candidates went to Washington to look after their appointments, but found that President Grant, surrounded by office-seekers, had already made up the list so nearly that only six Dakota men came back officially better off than they went. The method proposed seemed to be based on a principle of self-government; the practice followed was long continued in Dakota. John A. Burbank[71] was governor (1869-74); and General W. H. H. Beadle,[72] an acclimated Yanktonian, was surveyor general—an officer greatly needed, when land-seekers preferred not to depend on the rights of "squatter sovereignty." Coming colonies, such as that of the Bohemians in Bon Homme county, wanted sure titles to good lands. Expensive contests might have been avoided by warranty deeds to sites where

"City lots were staked for sale
Above old Indian graves."

PIONEERS IN NORTH DAKOTA

Close in the northeast corner of the Territory, Pembina had long held its name and place on the changing map. While its load of pelts, worth $70,000 a year, were floating to ships on Hudson Bay, its white people were nearly all French Canadians. They lived in friendship with the reds, Crees and Chippewas, whose bands took exercise at times in fights with each other and rarely met a Sioux. Father Belcot's chapel could light them on the paths of peace; and later, Fort Pembina[73] had means to protect the villages.

In 1849 a new era began. Commodore N. W. Kittson,[74] a Canadian, with his dry goods and groceries, his carts and dog

sledges, and later his steamboats and postoffice, enlarged the fur trade, and more finally turned its products to St. Paul. He became identified with Minnesota.

There came from St. Paul, where he was state librarian, an Ohioan, Charles Cavalier,[75] to open the new custom house "in a little log shanty," and to be henceforth identified with Dakota, which has the advantage of bordering on a foreign country. He was the man to repress the fine art of smuggling at various points on the Canada line. South of it there were settlers enough to make the business lively. Far outside the present county which bears his name, Collector Cavalier traveled to gather in the tariffs on foreign goods. "I was then a tenderfoot," said he, when mayor of Pembina, and when recalling his winter trips in a dog-sledge tandem, through the Pembina and Turtle mountains and the woods of Mouse River, where were new settlements; and exclaiming, when he had driven upon the edge of a vast plain, "Countless millions of buffalos, all feeding in the snow and going northwest; the grandest sight I ever saw." The bison[76] herds whose heavy tread "actually shook the ground," were doomed by the coming ox teams of the white man, and many of their trails were wisely chosen as the best routes for the caravans of "movers," who took the shortest ways across the stakeless plains.

For ten years, after 1861, Pembina county included the Dakotan quarter of the valley of the Red River, which divided it from Minnesota. It was about 160 miles wide and 180 miles long. In it were very few towns before 1872, and the scattered settlers went to Pembina as their county seat. Far up the Red River was Fort Abercrombie, a main gateway into North Dakota. There the brave carrier took up the mail from St. Paul, and for the hopeful pioneers, who were eager to have the latest reports concerning projected railways and telegraph lines.

Over this mail route, in February, 1871, came H. R. Vaughn, "in an open one horse sleigh, drawn by a half-starved Indian pony," to Pembina. The next November he wrote to J. S. Foster, commissioner of immigration (second report) concerning "the finest crops I ever saw," the 130 votes cast at our last election, the one church, two billiard saloons, two breweries, three good steamboats, a railroad to Red Lake, Minnesota, the grade of the

Red Cloud

Sitting Bull

(Copyright 1902 by S. S. McClure Co. Courtesy of McClure's Magazine)

North Pacific "to within a few miles of here," a telegraph line along the valley to Winnipeg, and "no public school kept here." The school must have come with the three churches by the year 1879, when the first mayor, Charles Cavalier, might read the proceedings of the town council in the first number of the Pioneer. And Editor Gatchell, strolling among the cranberry bushes, on viewing the charming landscape where two valleys merged, might wish for the romantic story of Pembina, then closing its hundred years.

In 1868 two mail carriers, on the line from Fort Abercrombie to Pembina, took land near Grand Forks and began the first settlement of farmers in that quarter. If they had wheat to sell, they were glad to see Captain Alexander Griggs on his flatboat from the fort. He was a partner with James J. Hill, the later famous railroad president, in a warehouse at St. Paul. He was on an exploring tour, with an eye to the transportation business. Not far from the Hudson Bay Company's trading houses and mill, he built a log cabin on land which he might hold by squatter's right until surer right came, and returned to the boat builders' yard at Fort Abercrombie, to carry out the plan of a steamboat line. The results were the new Grand Forks with a shipyard, the Red River Transportation Company, connection of steamers with the North Pacific railway, and rapid growth of population in the extensive country of which Grand Forks became a center of travel and trade. The town attracted to it a goodly number of energetic men, whose public spirit came to be well known, and of cultured "women not a few," from far eastward cities. The Plain Dealer, begun by George H. Walsh, in 1875, was the second newspaper in North Dakota, the Tribune, started by Colonel Lounsbury at Bismarck, being in its second year.

In his second report on immigration, Commissioner Foster gave to the world the following: "In August, 1871, the writer drove over the present site of Fargo (Pembina county) in a half-breed cart, drawn by a half-breed pony, which jogged lazily along, now and then stopping to catch a bite of grass, or to allow its driver to shoot a prairie chicken, frightened by the unusual disturbance; only one small log house was in sight, standing on the edge of the timber lining the bank of the Red River, while

far to the west the eye searched the rolling prairie in vain for any sign of civilization (the new Norwegian settlement not being visible to him). In the latter part of September the line of the North Pacific railroad was located through the present town site, when at once Fargo began to struggle into existence." The October election called forth 300 votes. "During the past summer it has twice doubled its population (1872). The railroad had come."

Thus far, the white settlement of Dakota, North and South, had been along the wooded valleys most easily reached by people from "the East," and the South had the more valleys. The prairie uplands must be settled along the railways, and the North had the first one to enter the present state; and it now has the direct benefit of the only two that reach the western line and run through to the Pacific Ocean. The car crossed the Red River at Fargo, early in 1872, and ran to Elk Point. The next spring, the one reached Bismarck and the other Yankton—two towns that were hardly then contesting for the capital. Between those roads was a vast expanse of green prairie, where antelopes had never been startled, nor buffalos stampeded by a locomotive; hence few groups of settlers. North and South were divided by an ocean of grass. The common opinion still was that the wisest land-seekers must keep near the streams and woods, so that the "Sioux City and Pembina Railroad," up the Big Sioux and down the Red River, was then an incorporated hope; and if it had been a reality, it might have brought the North and South populations, then over 15,000, into more intimate acquaintance, and promoted the unity of eastern Dakota in statehood. As their streams ran diversely, so ran their destinies, for the trend of their great railways was from east to west.

As early as January, 1871, the legislature began to petition congress to divide Dakota on the forty-sixth parallel of latitude, and organize two territorial governments. This effort for division on that line (except twice) continued for eighteen years before it was successful. The fact explains the peculiar distribution of the educational, penal and benevolent institutions of the Territory, almost equally between the South and North. The religious denominations were organized on the assumption of two future states thus divided. The machinery of territorial

government ran on without disturbance during the two terms of Governor John L. Pennington[77] (1874-8), who favored united statehood, and did not believe that the people, by their own action alone, had the right to organize a state. It was generally held that as congress held the title to the land, it alone could authorize an active state organization. "Squatter sovereignty" might apply to a quarter of land, but not to the full control of a Territory by the residents thereof.

ENTRANCE INTO THE BLACK HILLS

In July, 1874, General George A. Custer's[78] march to the Black Hills began to please all white Dakotans who had been eager, but forbidden, to search for rumored gold on that well guarded Indian reservation. With him were troops, Indian scouts, miners and scientists to look after the flora, the fauna and the minerals of that wonderland. Soon the fine rhetoric of its praises went eastward in letters, lectures and official reports, with due proofs of the facts. But the castle-like hills, the charming valleys, the trout brooks, the pine forests, the abounding "flowers from which cavalrymen gather bouquets from their horses," the game of every western sort from bird to antelope and buffalo, and the fur wearers from beaver to grizzly bear, did not capture the public mind so readily as did the prosy fact of gold.

One of the scientific miners, W. T. McKay,[79] wrote in his journal: "Monday, July 21—Entered the Black Hills through the west pass. Our course was now directed to the south, and for two days and a half the country traversed was literally one vast bed of gypsum. If the whole world was entirely dependent on the Black Hills for this article, I should say there was enough here to meet the demand for the next five thousand years, so great and inexhaustible seems the supply.

"No sign or trace of mineral ore was discovered until the end of the three days' march, when we struck slate and quartz, and found some indications of silver.

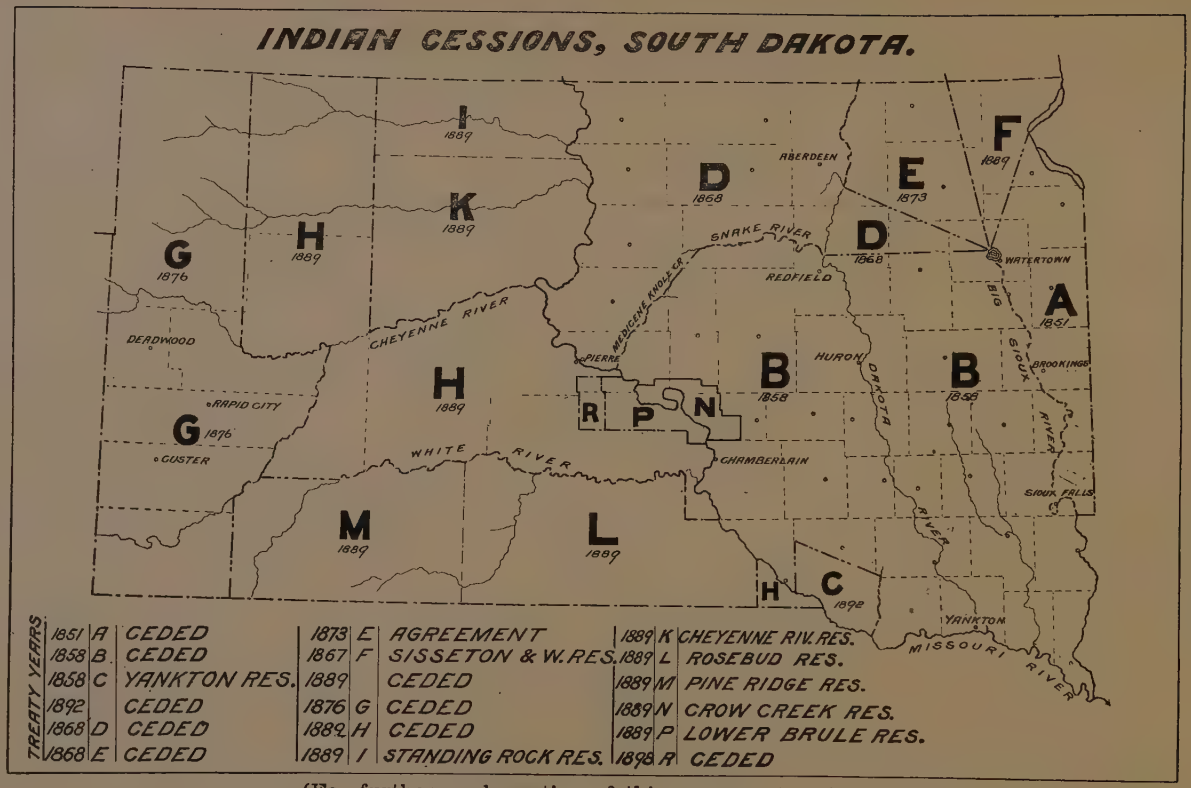
"The next day's travel was through a slate country, almost covered with quartz, of the variety known as banner or white quartz.

"The following day brought us into a country of granite and slate formation (Custer's Park). In the evening I took a pan, pick and shovel, and went out prospecting. The first panful was taken from the gravel and sand obtained in the bed of the creek; and on washing was found to contain from one and a half to two cents, which was the first gold found in the Black Hills.

"Went down the creek about twenty feet, and tried another pan, which yielded about three cents' worth of gold. Took it up to headquarters and submitted it to Generals Custer and Forsythe, who were in high spirits at the result; in fact, I never saw two better pleased generals in my life." General Custer's attention was "divided between science and security," and yet he wrote, "We have had no collision with hostile Indians."

On report of these and still more profitable tests, a speedy rush to the gold fields of Dakota was prevented only by the most stringent military orders, given in accordance with the treaty of 1868,[80] in which the United States solemnly agreed that no white person, unauthorized by the government, should "pass over, settle upon or reside in the territory described in this article." Without such authority, attempts were made to settle in it, as soon appeared by General P. H. Sheridan's[81] order to General A. H. Terry,[82] at St. Paul, September 3, 1874: "Should companies now organizing at Sioux City and Yankton trespass on the Sioux Indian reservation, you are hereby directed to use the force at your command to burn the wagon trains, destroy the outfit and arrest the leaders, confining them at the nearest military post in the Indian country. Should they succeed in reaching the interior, you are directed to send such force of cavalry in pursuit as will accomplish the purposes above named. Should congress open the country to settlement by extinguishing the treaty rights of the Indians, the undersigned will give cordial support to the settlement of the Black Hills."

Nevertheless, some of the very parties named left the next month and wintered at "Custer's Park," whence they sent letters of hope of gold, rather than great possession of it, a striking fact thus set forth: "All we lack is supplies and help to receive Mr. Spotted Tail,[83] should he visit us next spring. On our way here we passed a camp of about twenty-five or thirty Indians on the south fork of the Cheyenne River. Five of them paid us a visit



(For further explanantion of this map see treaties in appendix)

John Grass

and took dinner with us, giving us such information as they could in regard to the Black Hills. In the Hills here I don't think Indians came very often. There is not much sign of them."

If the Sioux made any audible protests against these movements, they were not yet visible on the war path. They were less feared than the soldiers, when other prospectors ventured through nearly all the valleys into the gold fields to work with pick and pan, and to be arrested by troops that came to guard the Indian rights and lands. The summer of 1875 was a busy and exciting season in the history of the Black Hills. Mines were opened, even towns were daringly founded. Enterprise assumed publicity, although a grand attempt to form a treaty for the purchase of the Hills country, or a mining right, had failed; not totally, for the commission recommended that congress try again, as the demands of the miners and settlers were becoming imperious and public sentiment favored them.

The first town started in the Black Hills was Custer City. In July, 1875, General Crook[84] notified the trespassers that they must leave by August 15th, or be taken prisoners. They enlarged their town site, and about one hundred miners elected twelve aldermen, put numbered cards in a hat and each man drew one for his town lot. On the day fixed, the general allowed seven men to remain, but do nothing more than take care of the mining tools, and sent the rest out of the Hills, except those who managed to escape. The general said, good humoredly, "Boys, I must obey orders, but no doubt you will come back.' And they did, the very next November, as soon as a blustering captain was removed for his harshness in arresting miners. They took lodgings in the vacated log barracks, and made the town a certainty.

In ways quite similar, mining camps soon grew into Hill City, Sheridan, Rapid City and Deadwood. Each has its story of daring and romance. The dawn of the newspaper era in the Black Hills first arose on the heights of Custer, but in the stampede to Deadwood Gulch, the Pioneer was carried there. Its office was in a narrow swamp, its press in a tent on the hillside, and its first number, June 8, 1876, was a sheet scarcely large enough for the advertisements of all the business men and the three companies that located the earliest gold quartz mines in

the Hills. Two days later Crook City had its newspaper. Outside news came by pony express, at the rate of fifty cents a letter. A telegraph of tongues brought news of quarrels among miners, and of Indian raids on mining camps in the Hills, and on ranchmen of Wyoming.

These Indian depredations have been charged mainly upon the Cheyennes[85] and roving Sioux, outside of Dakota. They had refused to sign the treaty of 1868 and to live on the great reservation. Sitting Bull, the crafty medicine man, had won the chieftaincy over the unpledged Sioux along the Powder River in Montana. He heard of military movements from Fort Laramie[86] northward, and led his bands and certain Indians from the reservation into more mountainous wilds, and camped in the valley of the Little Big Horn River. When General Crook's troops were marching to annihilate Sitting Bull, the chief sent word to the Red Cloud agency, now in Nebraska, that if arrangements were made to pay for the Black Hills, or vacate them, he would come and surrender; but if the "big knives" (soldiers) came into his own country he would fight. The army marched on in separate divisions. General Custer, with his cavalry, seems to have been misled by a trail to a village, which he hardly knew to be Sitting Bull's great camp. He assailed it June 25-26, 1876, and so dire was the defeat of these heroic cavaliers that General Terry reported the next day: "Of his movements and the fine companies under his command, scarcely anything is known, for no officer or soldier has yet been found alive."

One result of these campaigns, "not against the Sioux nation at all, but against certain hostiles of it," was that Sitting Bull and his clique fled to Manitoba, to remain four years. Had he never returned and built his cabins on the great reservation, he would no more have troubled Dakota, his birthplace and his grave. Another event was hastened; the next September a commission was at the Red Cloud and Brule agencies to treat for the Black Hills.[87] The firm, yet conciliatory, methods of ex-Governor Edmunds helped to bring the sullen and dallying Sioux to terms. As in all recent treaties for lands, moneys were to be paid, supplies and rations furnished, and "all necessary aid to assist the said Indians in the work of civilization," until they should become self-supporting.

Such great chiefs as Red Cloud,[88] Spotted Tail, Gall[89] and John Grass[90] went home to keep the treaty. It was hailed with great rejoicing by prospectors, miners, town-founders and ranchmen; and the Hills drew thousands of people to wash the sands in their valleys and to grind the hard quartz enriched with invisible gold.

GEOLOGY, SOIL AND PRODUCTS

At once the geology and the physical geography of the Black Hills assumed a new interest. The gold-quartz district, crowned with peaks, of which Harney's Peak is the highest, rising nearly ten thousand feet above sea level, is Laurentian and Huronian—the oldest geological formations. Evidently it was once an island, uplifted from the sea and quite solitary in a vast ocean. Eastward, the nearest land was along the Minnesota line, where the granite crops out at Big Stone Lake, and farther south the Huronian quartzite appears in the Big Sioux and Vermillion valleys. These points were the primal Dakota, when the rolling seas were her farmless prairies, and the gold-bearing isle must wait long ages for the waters to go, and for man to come and show how "the violent take it by force."

Additions were laid on the slopes of this oscillating isle, as it rose out of the sea, and still it is almost an island in a prairie-land. It lies in the two encircling arms of the River Cheyenne, as if the lingering waters were loth to give up the treasures they long tried to steal away by the erosions that passed down the hills and carried particles of gold into the valleys. Professor F. B. Carpenter says: "Let one imagine himself in the center of the uplift at Harney's Peak; spread out upon every side is a wilderness of jagged mountains, worn and scarred by the rains and frosts of ages, yet ever green from the pine forests they carry. Between these his eye rests upon mountain parks, through which flow streams of clear water, stretching away like ribbons of silver."

If the explorer come thence eastward through the Bad Lands and across Dakota, he will tread upon successive strata that represent all the great geological formations, from the Laurentian to the Tertiary, except the Devonian. Most of them are oval belts around the Black Hills. "There is probably no other sec-

tion in the world where one can in a single day examine rocks of all ages, from the Tertiary to the Archaean, as he can easily do here." This variety of formation and the ease with which the section can be reached, together with the beauty of the uplift, make it a natural museum for the student of geology. The number of metals, and the quantities of the most valuable ores and coal found in the Hills, have surpassed the ready belief of men who have no fondness for the statistics of mining. The working of the mica beds led to the discovery of tin ores, and an expert miner has said that "It will not be long before the old world buys its tin in the Black Hills."

The Bad Lands—the Mauvaisses Terres of some Frenchman stalled in them—are notable for their peculiar scenery and their strange fossils. A geologist, on a trip across the Sioux reservation, had recently written: "We were on the pine ridge of prairie, between the Bad Lands, whose ineffable mud kept us out of them, and the south branch of the Cheyenne River, to whose waters we were seeking a sure trail. The sun was setting. Looking down the slope ten or fifteen miles, we had a rare vision. We seemed to be near a wonderful city. Its walls were not entirely broken down. On its regular street were rows of high buildings—great blocks of them. The cornices of some houses were broken and the chimneys were tottering. Some flat roofs were grass plots, probably as green as ever were the hanging gardens of Babylon. The capitol with its dome stood in the majesty of power. The vast cathedral reflected the brilliant light of the setting sun. In the dusk the spires of churches intimated the ringing of bells. In that old monastery were there not vespers? In those towers, square and round, was the groaning of prisoners to be heard? Was there a flash of light in the great window of that dingier castle? Would half a dozen of our curlew and plover secure us a fresh loaf from the attractive castle that may now be a hotel? Is the city gate swinging on its high post? Shall we drive in or pitch tent? That splendid illusion was my first view of the Bad Lands." These lands in South Dakota are quite limited in extent. They are not volcanic nor hill ranges. They seem to have been lake beds, or valleys filled with clays in which were relics of animals comparatively recent in geological history. Rains and probably floods cut

Gall

Spotted Tail

channels in these clays. The channels deepened, widened and intersected each other. Their waters curled around the little islands, carving them into strange shapes. After the waters subsided the frosts and winds did their work of sculpture. There is no reason for saying of this district,

> "Like a ruined world it seemeth,
> Burnt, upturned and scarred by fire."

West of the Missouri, in North Dakota, are Bad Lands, which seem to have been deeper valleys, filled with driftwood that became covered with sediment and converted into lignite coal. Fires were started in the coal seams; as they burnt out the earth that had covered them sank and became the bed of a stream. Where the coal did not exist, or did not burn out, high mounds were left to take fantastic shapes by water and by wind. Some of these buttes have been burning in our time. All the groups of Bad Lands make but a small fraction of the plain that surrounds them. Dakota has so little waste land that she may well spare a few townships of this sort and leave them to be consecrated to romance and fossils, if the stockmen do not convert them into ranches for cattle. No respect for the fossilized herds that man never hunted, not even for the huge brontotheriumcan, save these wonderlands from the claims of the beef market. Not far from those in the north, extensive beds of lignite coal underlie the bluffs of the Missouri.

A great cretaceous plain extends from the Black Hills eastward and laps on Minnesota. Most of it is covered with glacial drift, which has left here and there a large amount of good building stone for people who are remote from the extensive quarries in the Hills, or on the eastern border. The surface soil is generally a black loam, proven to be rich by its natural grasses and its agricultural products. The general slope of this undulating plain is southeast, as the Missouri runs, and northeast to the Red River, these two being the largest and the only and safely navigable rivers of Dakota. Into them, and from the watershed about the streamless Devil's Lake, flow the midland streams, of which the long James River is the largest. From the northwest seems to come the dipping stratum that gives unfailing water to the artesian wells which are increasing by scores on the vast plains from Pembina to Pierre,[91] to the Black Hills,

and on to Yankton. Among their purposes are a larger yield of grain on irrigated lands and the turning of mills to grind it. By increase of moisture, they may affect the climate.

Indian corn is a fair test of climate. It has been grown by the Indians in the country as far back as tradition leads, and in the mounds or ancient camps the charred remains of it are found, even in northern localities. Where corn ripens, the winters are not extremely long, nor so cold that all the furs once exported need to be demanded back again. A careful statistician abroad has written of Dakota: "The notoriety of the Territory abroad has been established mainly, it would appear, on the fame of her wheat crop, and as being the birthplace of the 'blizzard.' Dakota is satisfied with, and feels that she has fairly won, the title of the grain field of America; but the testimony of her inhabitants and the proof of weather observations completely refute the standard eastern idea of Dakota's climate.[92] The mean annual temperature of the entire stretch of country extending north from the northern boundary line of Nebraska—more than 400 miles—to the southern border of Canada, is 41.5°, an average higher than that of either the state of Minnesota or New Hampshire." And yet the natural comfort in January is that the sunny air is calm and dry, and that the human nerves do not detect the point to which a despondent thermometer may fall in a starry night.

The coldest quarter of Dakota is on the high land called the Turtle and Pembina mountains, which slope north into the wheat plain of Manitoba. The first of these now belong to an Indian reservation.[93] This grand plateau rises sometimes abruptly, but generally with a gentle slope, from the surrounding prairie. The interior is a region of broken hills, lofty buttes, deep valleys, lakes and streams, and the whole mountain region is well timbered. Its streams flow into the Mouse and Pembina rivers. Its highest elevation is St. Paul Butte, rising 700 feet above the swollen plain and 2,300 above the sea level. Lignite coal is the valuable mineral, apart from the excellent soil, which has drawn thither a goodly population to succeed the fur-trading pioneers.

The geologist analyzes the mineral qualities of soils; the farmer and ranchman find by experience what they produce and sustain. About two-thirds of the people of both Dakotas

are engaged in agriculture. In the products of the field, the garden and the pasture, the prolific soil excels. Dakota's wheat is famous on both sides of the Atlantic. The farmer is proud of the first premium awarded the Dakota exhibit of wheat by the World's Centennial Exposition in 1885 at New Orleans, but he has learned that the "one-crop system" is not his best method of culture. Other grains that are usually the companions of wheat are profitable. The staple vegetables assert their rights to exhibition at all fairs.

This sketch has already had the shadow of trees upon it, when the pen has been following traders and settlers into the wooded valleys where log cabins preceded the sawmill. Still lumber must be chiefly an importation, except the less elegant kinds of it, for local uses, obtainable in the lower valley of the Red River, the northern hills, the higlands about Devil's Lake and the larger forests of the Black Hills, where trees of more than thirty choice varieties grow naturally; they may be cultivated far more extensively than men, toiling for annual products rather than for comforts ten years ahead, have attempted. The plum, the little grape, the currant, the cherry, the strawberry, are native, and their more cultured cousins may locate in their neighborhoods. With the grove, natural in the valley, or planted on the tree claim, to surround hardy fruit trees, orchards are attainable, especially in the southern counties. Even fig trees, native in the old cretaceous era, have been brought to ripe fruitage in the summer air by housing the shrubs during the winter. Bananas must be imported, but the fine melons are a compensation.

Where the plow was first allowed predominance, the pasture for sheep, cattle and horses has since added to the farmer's resources. The dairy is the consort of the granary. The pasturage is simply the native grasses, which cure to hay upon the ground and retain their richness through the winter, so that in many places herds of cattle and horses graze the whole year upon the plains, where once the buffalos fed and grew fat. The freight trains of Dakota beeves are fattened solely on their native forage, of which uncounted acres still grow, cure and go to waste uncut, ungrazed, unutilized, even in nearly all the more thickly settled counties. Many a lonely farmer scarcely knows

the distant owners of the wild quarter-sections that afford his cattle free pasturage. A horse tethered on a grassy town lot is likely to thrive; and the herder of the town cows is apt to burn the stakes of a city addition when converting it into a public commons for private cattle that rarely go lowing home for better provisions.

Beyond the cattle on a thousand school sections or untilled pre-emption claims, along the Missouri Valley and westward, the increasing herds on the native ranges remind one of Illinois when its grand prairie was the Dakota of its time. This hand has felt the welcome grip of a college graduate, who rode as a cowboy in the grand march of herds and ranchmen to claim his branded cattle in the June "round-up." The laws of associated ranchmen, based on a common sense of rights, afford to a cowboy the chance to become a "cattle king" by fairness and wise investment. The code of ranchdom so prevails, in a series of associations, that wandering beeves found in a Manitoba "round-up" may be passed down the long line to the owner in the Cheyenne Valley.

This code, like those of the little Greek republics, will have its day in Dakota, and be simply the memorial of its solons. For the rapid encroachment of the farmer on the stockman's domain has already driven the ranches to a rather limited district in comparison with the great area over which, at one time, his herds roamed at will. It cannot be long before cattle ranching in Dakota, on the great scale of the early day, will be one of the lost arts.

PREPARING AND PLEADING FOR STATEHOOD

When it was noised abroad that Dakota had great resources of wealth in her soil and mines, health in her bracing climes, and newness of opportunity for all comers, four or five lines of railway were extended west over a vast plain on which the valley men had not cast an appreciative eye. The railroad was to be the main factor in creating the state, and towards that end was to do more in five years than might otherwise be done in fifty. It kept in advance of settlement on the wide prairie, and led the march of empire on. It must first invest large capital, and then wait for its reward. From 1872 to 1880 the extensions gave

Charles F. Picotte and Two Lance, a Brule

Dakota nearly seven hundred miles of railway, but during the next four years—the two terms of Governor Ordway's administration—they were so rapid that the map-makers were puzzled to keep revisions up to date.

There was a vigorous movement to settle the James River Valley above Yankton. Among the towns that sprang suddenly into fame were (in about this order) Jamestown, Mitchell, Ashton, Redfield, Huron and Aberdeen. H. B. Lathrop tells how he was pointed to Ashton, once an Indian council ground, and then (May, 1880) the abode of a white colony, that hoped "to get the railroad and become the metropolis of the Jim River Valley." "Rivalry and hope were the common rights of all new villages." At Redfield he found "several families in tents, 'dug-outs,' sod houses and board shanties." "On the 22d of June, Jno. Brule and myself drove the first teams to Huron for loads. There was not a house or shanty the entire distance (forty-five miles), and we had to carry water for our horses. The cars had not yet crossed the river at Huron. We slept in our blankets under our wagons, about the center of where the city now stands." Three days later, cars of the Chicago & Northwestern railway crossed the bridge into the town, whose early council put into form the first scene in its history thus: "The corporate seal of the town of Huron shall be a device representing a surveyor with a tripod; near him a man driving a stake; two antelopes watching the surveyors; the landscape to be a prairie gently rising to the west." From the first building, twelve feet by sixteen, on the original town site, went forth the Settler, soon to be followed by other newspapers. With three or four churches came the school, in the winter of 1881, dry goods boxes being used for desks. The next July, a signal service station was opened for business by the federal government. Thus Huron began to be a center of information, railways, trade and the hospitalities shown to conventions for the discussion of public interests.

At uno disce omnes (from one learn all) relative to the marvelous epoch of town-building in Dakota. Rev. W. H. Hare,[91] missionary bishop of South Dakota, graphically describes the process: "Language cannot exaggerate the rapidity with which these communities are built up. You may stand ankle deep in the short grass of the uninhabited wilderness; next month a

mixed train will glide over the waste and stop at some point where the railway has decided to locate a town. Men, women and children will jump out of the cars, and their chattels will be tumbled out after them. From that moment the building begins. The courage and faith of these pioneers are something extraordinary. Their spirit seems to rise above all obstacles. I have ridden into a Dakota valley and pitched my tent. After my supper, lolling upon my buffalo robe, I have looked around and seen nothing but a wolf that looked down from a hill into the valley to see who the intruder was. When I visited that valley the next year, I saw a long train of Pullman palace cars. In that same trip I camped on the flat bottom land near the Missouri River. There was no sign of civilization there but a log hut with a mud roof. It was the home of a Frenchman who had married an Indian woman. Within the year I revisited the spot and saw a town. It has since increased to 2,000 inhabitants."

Westward, still farther, went the pre-emptor, the homesteader and the town builder, until they reached the border of the great Sioux reservation. In 1880 John H. King and other Iowa men drove from Mitchell into the Missouri Valley, chose a beautiful site and joined with the locators of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul railway to "build up one of the best cities on the river." Hence Chamberlain, with the Dakota Register as an index of early prosperity.

A village at the mouth of Bad River (old Teton) had taken the name of Fort Pierre, and reached the newspaper era.

In the Signal of July 21, 1880, was this item: "Governor N. G. Ordway,[95] wife and son, came up on the Far West on Thursday and stayed over night here (Fort Pierre). While the boat was lying here in the evening, the governor took in the town, and after returning to the boat a deputation of citizens from Pierre called to talk with him in regard to the organization of Hughes county, and remained about an hour." Seven days later the Signal published the news that "Colonel Irish, surveyor for the Northwestern, has run two lines in Pierre and will soon commence to lay out the town. A steam ferry is expected soon. Three months ago Pierre contained three houses. It now contains eighteen and is growing rapidly." The original plat was completed the next October by the railway company, whose

track was completed to Pierre in November. Many "squatters" at Fort Pierre, being on the Sioux reservation, removed their business and took residence at Pierre, preferring to live in an organized county and share in the railway privileges. The original settlers in the town were largely young people of energy and intelligence, who came to make fortunes and maintain characters for personal integrity and public worth. The school, churches and Sunday classes came before laws were officially administered or courts established. In the months when the people were virtually a law to themselves and able to execute it efficiently, all kinds of business were maintained, such as dry goods, groceries, clothing, lumber and banks, all duly advertised in the newspapers of the time. The household had come, and, as in other towns, the presence of the family indicated the comparative absence of the adventurer. But the saloon often preceded the sanctuary, and an unended moral conflict began.

The whistle of the railway engine at Pierre had its response in the cheers that rang in the Black Hills. The freight car had come within two hundred miles of the slowly developed mines. The wagon train must connect with it. The trade which Pierre held with the Hills, from 1880 to 1886, cannot be told in figures concerning teams by hundreds and tons of freight by thousands. It increased her wealth, her hopes, her laudable ambition. It furnished the journalist with an exhaustless theme for his correspondence; and the visitor—still inquiring for the "wild west" —gazed with wonder upon the ox-train that conveyed the machinery for a stamp-mill, or the full outfit for a railway, across the unsettled reservation. The number of ox-trains increased and the stage lines ran daily coaches well ladened, until the railway through northern Nebraska offered speedier transportation from eastward states. The link between the two ends of South Dakota was then gone. Progress was arrested. The marketable wealth of the Hills and its returns passed through another state. Dakota had not full benefit of her own resources. Was there any remedy? The main obstacle to settlement and trade between the Dakotan towns on the Missouri and the farther west was not directly the "Sioux nation," for the Indians were friendly and were benefited by the traffic; it was the great reservation itself, especially that part of it lying between the White and

Cheyenne rivers, a belt about sixty miles wide, on which very few Indians lived. That section of it was not opened to white settlers until the treaty of 1889,[96] and this event was followed the next year by the uprising during which Sitting Bull was shot in his own house. It is noteworthy that the better Indians kept aloof from the "Messiah[97] craze," or disguised war dance, and the suppression of the little war had good effects upon them. It led them to appreciate more fully the breaking up of tribal relations, the taking of land in severalty and improving it, and the schools which had long been offered to them, both by religious denominations and by the government, the largest now of the latter class being at Flandreau, Chamberlain and Pierre. But two large sections of the Sioux reservation still remain for the Indians, whose tendency slowly grows stronger towards the white man's ways of life. When these Indians shall all take the lands in severalty, and make homes upon them, they will doubtless imitate the Sioux on the Yankton and Sisseton reservations, and ask the federal government to sell them to white settlers. Then will an old wall crumble down, not by the pressure of covetousness on the outside, but by the power of civilization within the large domain now enclosed by sacred treaties and congressional laws.

In May, 1872, a canvas tent used, not for a saloon so common in new towns, but for a store, whose first patrons were the woodchoppers near a steamboat landing, indicated the designs of men who "pictured to themselves a future great metropolis." There the Northern Pacific railway was to be the first to cross the upper Missouri, and bring Dakota upon a highway around the world. It was enlisting foreign capital, and the princely name, Bismarck, was given to the town. Colonel C. A. Lounsberry was there the next year with his Tribune, and with the influence which he exerted in the earlier development of the mines in the Black Hills, and on the political movements which were stimulated by two questions—the removal of the capital and statehood.

The question of relocating the capital at a more central point grew with the growth of population in the northern and central sections of Dakota east of the Missouri. A commission appointed by the territorial legislature of 1882 found Huron, Pierre and Bismarck among the new aspirants for the privilege

Samuel J. Albright, Provisional Governor 1859

of donating land and funds, and receiving the local benefits which flow from the presence of the legislature, executive and judicial departments of state. Bismarck was chosen for the new capital. The corner stone was laid September 5, 1883, under the gaze of "eminent and titled personages, both of Europe and the United States, then on their way into Montana to drive the last and golden spike of the great Northern Pacific railway." Ex-President Grant said: "I predict that within a few years you will be a great state, with two representatives, and it may be three." These applauded words were fuel to questions already burning.

The story of effort and failure to secure statehood for Dakota, single or twin, is one of long persistency, loyal patience and repeated delay. It follows a main purpose, from 1880 to 1889, through the legislature and through conventions that drew up memorials and drafted two constitutions; through the resolutions of the Republican and Democratic conventions of 1884, demanding in the strongest terms the division of the Territory and the admission of the southern half as a state of the union; through the ballots of more and more voters, and the annual messages of five governors—Howard, Ordway, Pierce,[98] Church[99] and Mellette;[100] through the pleadings of five successive delegates to congress—Bennett,[101] Pettigrew,[102] Raymond,[103] Gifford[104] and Mathews;[105] and through more than thirty congressional bills whose annual failure led Governor Pierce to say, in 1887: "We have seen people fighting to get out of the union amid the protests of the national government; it is a novel sight to see 500,000 people struggling to get into the union without being heeded or recognized."

In the Aberdeen convention of 1887, which voiced the only organized movement for unified statehood, ex-Governor Pennington took up the suggestion that its memorial should rehearse the immense resources of Dakota, and said: "Why, bless you, every printing press that is whirling tonight has advertised to the world that you have six hundred thousand people, over four thousand miles of railroad, and that you have over one hundred thousand farms and happy homes, and lowing cattle, and mines of precious metal—more and better than all the other territories put together, and far in advance of many of the states. What more does congress want to know than all this?" Dakota

that man should live to labor. The province of legislation is not to foster idleness, but to stimulate effort; not to destroy ambition, but to elevate and direct it; to preserve with jealousy the social institutions which ennoble human nature; to foster religion, which furnishes divine ideals, and to promote a common education, which is the preserver of all."

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ERRATA BY EDITOR

In preface—Walter J. instead of "William" J. Hovey.

Note 1, page 86—Tinta (prairie), Tonwan (village)—prairie villages. The word "Tonwan (village)" should be supplied.

Note 2, page 87—"1805" should be 1804.

Note 11, page 95—See note 2, should be see note 1.

Note 18, page 102—Wakpa, not "Napka."

Note 24, page 105—Date "1830" should be 1831-2.

Note 58, page 126—"On September 30th and again on September 6th," should read on August 30th and again on September 6th.

Note 83, page 145—Word "epitaph" should be marker.

Note 90, page 155—"His mother was a daughter of a chief of the O-o'he-no-pa." The words "a chief of" should be supplied.

The Indian treaties printed in the appendix, page 442, et seq., are a portion of Dr. Robinson's contribution to these collections.

EDITORIAL NOTES ON
Historical Sketch of North and South Dakota

By DR. DE LORME W. ROBINSON

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[1]**Sioux or Dakotas**—The term "Sioux" is applied in the larger sense to all the tribes who speak the Siouan tongue. It is derived from the Algonkin word, Nadowessiwag—"the snake," and as applied to them by their neighboring foes, means "the snake-like ones, enemies:" Its equivalent in the Indian sign language, a forcible drawing of the finger across the throat, signifying the act of cutting off heads. Their eastern neighbors, the Ojibways (Chippewas) called them Nadowessioux, or enemies, and the white man coined the word Sioux out of the last two syllables. Under four general divisions, of which the Lakota, or Dakota, is one, the Siouan linguistic family occupied the greater portion of the vast territory extending from about 33° north in Hudson Bay Company's possessions southward to and including much of what is now the present states of Missouri and Arkansas, and from the Great Lakes on the east to the Rocky Mountains on the west. They were noted as warriors and conquerors by the surrounding tribes, and when first known to the Europeans had long held sway over that region, although the different branches of the family seemed to have frequently changed their place of abode. Dr. Stephen R. Riggs, in his account of a visit to Fort Pierre in 1840, writes: "At Fort Pierre we found about one hundred Indian lodges, a part of whom were Yanktons and part Tetons. We expected to have met more Indians at the fort. It may be remembered in general that we have abundant testimony to the fact that all the bands of the Sioux once occupied a country much east of that in which they are now found. Most of the Indians now on the St. Peter (Minnesota) and Mississippi, at no very distant day lived beyond, that is east of that river, and the time when the Ihanktonwanna (Yanktonaise) bands occupied the vicinity of Lac Qui Parle is yet well remembered by many who are not yet old men. These now range to Devil's Lake and the Missouri and even beyond that river. Mr. Campbell (the half-breed interpreter at Fort Pierre) states that the original country of the Ihanktonwan (Yankton) band was on the River Des Moines and that of the Tetonwan (Teton) band was farther down on the Mississippi in a portion of what now forms the state of Missouri. At present the Tetonwans are all west of the Missouri, their hunting grounds are from

warrant the generally accepted belief that the first post built in Dakota was at or near Pembina on the Red River. On the contrary, it is clear to the writer that at least two posts had been built and were in operation on the Missouri River, one as early and the other earlier (1796) than any post on the Dakota side of the Red River. (See editors' notes 11 and 17, this volume.) The Hudson Bay Company first began operations in the Red River Valley about 1793. The first post in the neighborhood of Pembina, of which there is any authentic record, was built by Peter Grant on the east, or Minnesota, side of the Red River, opposite the mouth of the Pembina. This post was built by Grant for the Northwest Fur Company in the early '90s, probably in 1792 or 1793. The trader referred to in the text is doubtless C. J. B. Chaboillez, of the Northwest Fur Company, who built a post on the south side of the Pembina River, near its mouth, in 1797, and wintered there in 1797-8. Alexander Henry, the younger, in September, 1800, found this post abandoned. Henry makes the following mention of his arrival at the mouth of the Pembina: "We came to the Pembina River and crossed it to the old fort, which was built in 1797-8 by Chaboillez. Opposite the entrance of this river, on the east side of the Red River, are the remains of an old fort built by Peter Grant several years ago." It is evident that neither of these posts or forts was long occupied. John Tanner, the historian, who spent his life among the northern Indians, visited the mouth of the Pembina about 1799 and found no white man there. Chaboillez, the trader before referred to, had charge of the department of the Assinaboine for the Northwest company in 1804, and continued until his death in 1809. (See Henry-Thompson journals, "New Light in the History of the Northwest," edited by Dr. Elliott Coues, pages 79, 80, 81.)

[4]**First Dakota Literature**—It may be justly questioned whether credit should be given Henry for penning the first English literature in Dakota. David Thompson, Canadian explorer and royal surveyor, visited the Mandan Indians at their villages on the Missouri River during the months of December, 1797, and January, 1798. While with them he made a complete vocabulary of the Mandan language and recorded other interesting facts and observations, which are still extant, and although never published, are frequently used as references. Thompson's visit to the Mandans antedates the arrival of Henry at Pembina about three years. Many years prior to these dates (1738) the Verendryes, father, son and brother, early Canadian traders and explorers, made a journey of exploration from the head of Lake Winnipeg to the Mandan villages. Verendrye, the elder, wrote an elaborate and interesting account of this tour. (See Explorations in the New Northwest, 1738-9, Gaulthier De Verendrye, Canadian Archives, 1889.) Though penned in the French language, it is interesting to note that sixty-eight years had elapsed between the tours of Verendrye and Henry.

[5]**Alexander Henry**—Alexander Henry, the younger, a fur trader and explorer, was a nephew of that Alexander Henry whose travels and ad-

Gov. William Jayne

ventures from 1760-77 are well known, and who died at Montreal in 1824. Alexander Henry, the younger, kept a journal covering the years of his travels (1799 to 1814), being at this time a partner in the Northwest Fur Company. We find him, in 1779, on his way from Grand Portage, Lake Superior, through Lake of the Woods to Red River, where he built a post on the west side of the river near the mouth of the Park River, for the seasons of 1800-1. September 5, 1800, he appeared at the mouth of the Pembina, where he built a fort, which was his headquarters until 1808. During this period he had charge of the Northwest Fur Company's posts throughout the region of Manitoba, North Dakota and Minnesota. He traveled much and established many posts for the company during this time; made a tour from Pembina to the Mandan villages on the upper Missouri in 1806. From 1808 to 1810 he made extensive journeys and established posts along the Saskatchewan River, and to the Rocky Mountains. In 1811 he passed over the divide and reached Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia River, late in 1813. After change of name "Astoria," to Fort George (1814) he, in company with one McDougal, had charge of the fort. While here, in the winter of 1813-14, he explored the Columbia and Willamette rivers, and returned to Fort George, at the mouth of the Columbia, in the early spring. He and four others were drowned in the Pacific, near the mouth of the Columbia, May 22, 1814, while going in an open boat out to the company's supply ship, the Isaac Tod, lying in the offing. (See Henry-Thompson journals, "New Light in the History of the Northwest.")

[6]**David Thompson**—David Thompson, for half a century surveyor and explorer, was born in England in 1770 and died at Montreal in 1857. During the period from 1790 to 1840 he made extensive exploration, much of which was done in connection with the Hudson Bay and Northwest Fur companies. He represented the Canadian government in the survey of the boundary line between the British possessions and the United States. So highly rated is he as a surveyor and geographer, that his notes, though in manuscript form, are held as high authority, and are frequently cited by geographers and historians. About six hundred pages in his own handwriting are still in the possession of the Canadian government. In most of his explorations he was a pioneer, gathering the earliest and most critical data. We find him among the Mandans on the Missouri River in the winter of 1797-8, thus anticipating Lewis and Clarke by six years, and the younger Alexander Henry about eight years. While among the Mandans he determined the source of the Yellowstone River and made a vocabulary of the Mandan tongue. In 1811 Thompson followed the Columbia River from its source to where Lewis and Clarke began their voyage on it, and was the first white man to undertake this difficult task. This voyage he extended to Astoria, on the Pacific coast. During his travels he explored the sources of the Mississippi, as early as 1799. It has been learned that much of the manuscript of the younger Henry was enlarged and corrected by Thompson. So important were his notations to the original text that Henry's editor, Dr. Elliott Coues,

gave almost equal credit to Thompson. (See "New Light in the History of the Northwest," Henry-Thompson journals.)

[7]**Pembina and Peter Grant**—Peter Grant—born 1764, died at Lachine, Canada, 1848—built the first fort on the Red River for the Northwest Fur Company about 1792 or 1793. This post was opposite the mouth of the Pembina River, on the east side, about where the town of St. Vincent, Minnesota, now stands. Grant was almost his whole life a fur trader. In 1784 he was a clerk in the Northwest Fur Company, becoming a partner in 1791; was at Rainy Lake post in 1799, and soon thereafter took charge of the Red River department, which position he held until his retirement. (Henry-Thompson journals, "New Light in the History of the Northwest."—Note by editor.)

[8]**John Cameron and Grand Forks**—John Cameron was one of Henry's lieutenants and built at his direction the Northwest Fur Company's post at the Grand Forks of the Red River, where stands the present town of Grand Forks, North Dakota. The following appears in Henry's journal: "September 5, 1801, sent off the boats for Grand Forks, John Cameron, master. He goes by land with four horses, Indians sober and decamping to follow their trader." Cameron built this fort and afterwards one on Turtle River, North Dakota. The first record of Cameron is as a clerk of the Northwest Fur Company, 1799. In 1800-1 he was a trusted employe under Henry, who sent him on many expeditions, one as far south as Lake Traverse, Dakota. He was taken ill during one of these expeditions and died January 6, 1804, before he could reach the post at Grand Forks. (Henry-Thompson journals, "New Light in the History of the Northwest," page 235.)

[9]**Selkirk Settlement**—The small band of Highland Scotchmen, who comprised the first Selkirk settlers, located at the head of Lake Winnipeg, about where the present city of Winnipeg now stands. This district still bears the ancient name of County Kildonan, given to it by these first settlers. After passing the winter on Nelson River they arrived at their destination on their lands in the spring of 1812. On account of the scarcity of wood, soon after their arrival at Kildonan, they built another fort and established a settlement in the wooded valley of the Pembina River, near its mouth. During the winters of 1812-13 and 1813-14 they lived at this fort, which they named Fort Daer. This fort was at the site of the present town of Pembina, which was afterwards found, with the exception of a few houses, to be on the United States side of the boundary line. Thus it is that this early, probably the saddest of all attempts at colonization on the American continent, becomes a part of Dakota history. Thomas Douglass, Lord of Selkirk and Earl of Angus, with the philanthropic purpose of acquiring homes for his Highland countrymen, purchased of the Hudson Bay Fur Company, and from the Indian tribes of that region the lands at the head of Lake Winnipeg and along the Red River to the Canada line. In 1812, after many delays and hardships his first settlers landed at their destination. The already sorely tried

settlers soon found that the Northwest Fur Company, then a dominant force in the affairs of Canada, was in bitter enmity with the Hudson Bay Fur Company, being also bitterly opposed to any permanent settlement within the reach of any of their posts. They disputed the right of the Hudson Bay Company to sell their lands, and soon began to harass and intimidate the colony. This continued without ceasing, greatly to the discouragement and detriment of the settlers, until, on January 8, 1814, at winter quarters at Fort Daer, Pembina, the governor of the colony, Miles McDonald, in a proclamation, said that, "For the welfare of the families at present forming the settlement of Red River, with those on the way to it, and those expected next autumn, render it a necessary part of my duty to provide for their support." The governor continues: "In the uncultivated state of the country, the ordinary resource derived from the buffalo and other wild game hunted within the territory, are not adequate for the needed supply. Wherefore, it is ordered that no person trading in furs, or any person whomsoever, shall take out flesh, grain or vegetables raised or produced within the territory, either by water or land carriage, for one twelve-month from the date hereof. The provisions procured or raised shall be taken for the use of the colony." Though the proclamation was a necessary precaution to secure the comfort and even the continued existence of the colony, and entirely within the scope of the power and the duty of the governor, the Northwest Fur Company's agents used it as a pretext for further and more cruel persecution. The partners of the company, at their meeting in 1814, at the annual summer gathering, severely criticised the proclamation of Governor McDonald as presumptuous and impudent, and then secretly determined to strangle the colony at all hazards. Then began a most unequal struggle—an isolated instance of innocent and dependent colonists being subjected to the horrors and cruelties of a savage warfare, by those who should have been their allies, friends and protectors, for some of the active agents in the persecutions were their own countrymen. About half a mile from the settlement was the abandoned post of the Northwest company, called Fort Gibraltar. A company partner again took up his residence here and with his adherents began a systematic and cruel harassing of the colonists. The Indians were incited to make raids upon the settlement. One chief was offered rum and tobacco for his whole tribe if he would make war upon the colony, but the dusky warrior spurned the offer, and sent the settlers the pipe of peace. The daily depredations were most exasperating; their horses and cattle were stealthily shot, houses burned, food supply destroyed. Under pretended authority, the agents of the Northwest company sent bands of drunken half-breeds to steal from the settlers their weapons of defense, frighten their women and children, and in some instances to make prisoners of the colonists. The governor was arrested for a pretended crime and taken, or rather went voluntarily, to Montreal to stand trial. There he was wearily and vexatiously detained, to the despair of the colony. But the self sacrificing qualities and patient endurance of the Scottish Celt came with them to their new home.

With stern self-reliance and grim determination they clung to their possessions, and, law abiding, waited for the government to exert its authority, right their wrongs and punish their persecutors. The benefactor and patron, Lord Selkirk, was not idle. He was patiently and persistently urging the Canadian government to extend its authority over the northwest and give the colonists military protection. About this time, too, the Hudson Bay Company seemed to have determined to protect the settlers as far as possible. Governor McDonald returned and new additions were sent to the settlers. Governor Semple of the Hudson Bay Company had assumed control of the affairs of the company, and in the course of his tours of inspection, in the spring of 1816, came to the Red River colony. The settlement at this time had increased and the prospects for the future were bright. Then came the climax—the massacre of the Red River—when Governor Semple, with twenty others, were murdered, and the colonists either imprisoned or forced to leave their homes. The revival of interest in the colony, and the evident determination of the Hudson Bay company to afford it efficient protection, seem to have incited the rival company to renewed efforts to crush the settlement. They resolved upon its utter and complete destruction, and to accomplish this end they enlisted under company leaders bands of the half-breed outlaws. Seventy of these dependents were dispatched to attack the settlement. (It may here be noted that not an Indian took part in the massacre.) On June 19, 1816, the watchman of the colony announced the approach of the half-breed force. Governor Semple, being notified of this fact, taking with him twenty men, went out to meet them. In reply to the governor's question, "What do you want," they answered, "We want your fort." Then followed the attack upon the little party, in which Governor Semple was first wounded and later killed. All of his followers, with one exception, were murdered The ax, the knife and other weapons of the savage soon finished the work, in which all the barbarities known to the Indian were practiced upon the remains of the dead. The instant surrender of Fort Douglass, a fort more recently built for the protection of the settlers, near the head of Lake Winnipeg, was demanded under penalty of the indiscriminate slaughter of every man, woman and child in the colony. After anxious deliberation, and knowing that other adherents of the Northwest company were enroute to aid in the attack, the settlers decided to accept the less cruel alternative demand of their enemies, thus consenting to banishment from their homes. Leaving behind them their friends, still unburied, they took boats and began the long and perilous journey to Hudson Bay. Before they had taken leave of the spot, the work of destruction of their homes was complete, and within a few days not a trace remained of this first heroic attempt to plant a colony and found a civilized community on the Red River. But they were not permitted to continue their journey in peace, according to the terms of their surrender. On their way they were met by incoming bands—Northwest company adherents, under command of some of the most influential of the partners in that

company—who compelled them to disembark, and for days detained and subjected them to many indignities and insults. Many of the more influential of the colonists were held as prisoners. It is a matter of history that all were imprisoned and guarded by the same half-savage hirelings, who, only a few days before, had murdered and tortured their near relatives and neighbors. In the meantime, Lord Selkirk failed entirely to enlist the aid of the government, or by any means induce the leading members of the Northwest company to relax their barbarous attempts against the unprotected colonists. He found, however, some Swiss veterans of the war of 1812, whom he induced, at great expense, to join the colony and render it some military protection. While on his way with about one hundred of these veterans he met the former governor of the colony, Miles McDonald, now exiled, who was making his way to Canada to inform him of the destruction of his colony. Lord Selkirk proceeded on his way, and with his armed contingent arrived at the main headquarters of the Northwest company at Grand Portage, Lake Superior, where he found many of the Selkirk settlers imprisoned. He ordered their instant release, and, after taking depositions, placed many of the members of the Northwest company under arrest and sent them to Canada for trial. His military contingent spent the winter at Grand Portage and in the spring, 1817, continued its journey to Red River. Those of the exiled colonists who could be, were recalled; a new attempt at home-building was begun, and a general muster of the adherents of the colony was made. Military protection having been secured, Lord Selkirk returned to Canada, that he might meet the authors of the depredations against the colonists and bring them to justice. After a year of constant endeavor to satisfy an outraged law and bring some of the guilty ones to punishment, he failed. Officials high in authority exerted their influence and used their power to shield the criminals and condone their crimes. During all the time of the farcical trials he was subjected to the most unjust persecutions. Finally, weary of the continued miscarriages of justice and stung to the quick by the neglect he received from those who were the guardians of the law, he left Canada, returning to Scotland, where, broken in spirit and health, he died. After varying fortunes, the Red River settlements, for which he had sacrificed so much, survived. In 1823, Major Long found about six hundred inhabitants at Pembina, some Selkirkers and their descendants, but mostly half-breeds, some still living at the head of Lake Winnipeg. Not, however, until the great western tide of immigration, about 1870, did Kildonan, of which the city of Winnipeg is a part, become what this kind-hearted nobleman hoped to make it for his Orkney cottagers.

[10]**Major Stephen H. Long**—Major Stephen H. Long was an officer in the regular army, and for many years a member of the corps of topographical engineers. Under the direction of the government he made tours of inspection and discovery along the Fox and Wisconsin rivers. Later, in the year 1817, he navigated the Mississippi to the falls of St. Anthony and collected much valuable data relating to the region and

its Indian inhabitants. In 1819 he commanded an exploring expedition, which was expected to navigate the Missouri 1,600 miles, to the country of the Mandan Indians. A special steamboat was built for the purpose. The boat was a failure and was anchored some distance below the site of the present city of Omaha, Nebraska. The expedition, however, extended its journey along the Platte to its headwaters. In 1823, in company with Professor Keating, who afterwards edited his journals, he led an exploring expedition to the headwaters of the Minnesota River. This tour was extended to the settlement at Pembina, on the Red River of the North, where they arrived August 5, 1823. Major Long, while at Pembina, established the boundary line at its crossing of the Red River. In 1870 it was found that Major Long was in error and the point, as designated by him as the boundary line at the crossing of the Red River, was about a mile too far south. The discovery of this error led to the selection of an international boundary commission, which surveyed the boundary line from the Lake of the Woods, 850 miles distant, to the Rocky Mountains. The joint commission finally, in 1872, determined the line at Pembina to be about a mile within the British possessions, thus verifying the claim made by the United States engineers in 1870, that an error had been made by Major Long. After long and faithful service in the army Major Long died at Alton, Ill., September 14, 1864, in advanced old age.

[11]**Chippewa, or Ojibway, Indians**—But one branch of this numerous family of red men ever permanently located itself in the Dakotas. This is the Pembina (Ojibways or Chippewas). They are also known as the Saulteurs. The remnants of the band now occupy the reservation on the northern border of North Dakota known as the Turtle Mountain Indian reservation. The Chippewas, or Ojibways, are a large and numerous tribe of Indians of the Algonkin family. At the advent of the white man the different bands of the tribe occupied that vast territory that girdles Lake Superior and westward through Wisconsin and Minnesota. The western branches finally pushed their way to the plains west of the Red River of the North and about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. Their early traditions indicated that their ancestors once lived on the shores of the "great salt waters," the Atlantic ocean. Long years ago, they say, on account of distressing and fatal sickness among them, they migrated westward and finally made a permanent stop at the outlet of the "Great Lakes," near Sault Ste Marie. Here they remained for a long period in one large and permanent settlement. Their occupation was largely hunting and fishing, though agriculture seemed to have been carried on successfully by them. From this central point they spread in two divisions, one northward and westward and the other southward. From an early date they carried on a relentless war with the Iroquois, or the Six Nations. This latter tribe having banded together in a confederation, known as the "League of the Iroquois," were fast pushing the Chippewas from their possessions when the advent of the white man and his weapons checked their further conquests. Their

location at the outlet of Lake Superior seems to have been where they first came in conflict with the Dakotas, who claimed the country from the Great Lakes westward to the Missouri River and beyond. The name Ojibway was given them by their enemies, and means "to roast till puckered up." It is said to have originated quite recently in their history and was applied to them after they had burned at the stake one of their captured foes. They named their enemies, both Iroquois and Dakota, Naudowaig, or Nadouessioux, which means enemy. From a French corruption of the last two syllables of this word comes the word Sioux, which still clings to the descendants of their ancient foes and dots the map of the Dakotas and the northwest with cities, counties and rivers. (See note 2, this work.) Their wars with the Iroquois finally came to an end. The last great battle between them occurred after the Ojibways had secured firearms from the French traders, who favored them as against their eastern enemy. The warriors of the two tribes met on the shores of the lake, a short distance above Sault Ste Marie. A fierce conflict occurred, which resulted in the total defeat of the Iroquois. This battle ended the active warfare between them. During this period they were at war with the Dakotas. Having first received firearms, they gradually forced the Dakotas from the region of the lakes, and carried their warfare against them beyond the Mississippi. Their first village on the upper Mississippi was at Sandy Lake, which they founded after defeating and destroying the Dakota villages at this point. In their westward movement against the Dakotas they had, about 1730, reached the prairie lands at the headwaters of the Minnesota and Red rivers. About this time the advanced guard of the Ojibway began a residence about Pembina and the head of Lake Winnipeg. The Yanktonaise (Dakota), claimed the country and contested fiercely with the invaders until about 1791, when they withdrew to the southward. Many fierce battles have been fought on Dakota soil between the warriors of these tribes. Rarely large numbers were engaged, but the warfare was continuous. Two expeditions of the Ojibways and their allies have been known to go as far west as the Missouri River to attack a village of the enemy. Their warfare did not close until the government took notice of it and interfered. An aged Ojibway chief said of this: "The great father finally took notice of our wars and called us in council. He said, 'Lay aside your scalping knives and guns and take plows and hoes and cultivate the soil.' We are pleased with the new life; we are at peace, and visit one another as brothers." The turbulence engendered through a long period of bitterness and hatred is not so easily calmed. The matron of one of our government Indian schools said to the writer that she found it necessary at times to separate the Ojibway and the Sioux girls, so liable was the hereditary hatred to manifest itself. (For an extended history see W. W. Warren's History of the Ojibways—Minn. Hist. Col., Vol. 5.)

[12]**The Crow Indians**—A powerful and warlike tribe of Indians, which, when first known, inhabited an extensive region in Montana and Wyoming.

About two hundred years ago they occupied the country farther eastward, around the Black Hills and along Powder and Big Horn rivers. In their wars with the Cheyennes they were gradually pushed westward into the more mountainous regions, which they continued to occupy, though surrounded by numerous unfriendly neighbors. Their traditional history indicates that they are an offshoot of the Minnetarees, called by themselves Hidatsas (Red Willow Village People) or the Gros Ventres, now at Fort Berthold, North Dakota. According to their traditions and the traditions of the Gros Ventres, the name Crow originated at the time of their separating from the main Hidatsa tribe. These traditions of both branches of the family give the place of the separation on the Missouri River at the mouth of the Heart River, and the cause for their division a dispute over the "manifold" or first stomach of a buffalo. After the separation, and the Crows had migrated southward, they called themselves the Abasraka, which they said meant "Crow People." In their new location they seemed to have been considered interlopers by the surrounding tribes, which prosecuted a vigorous and almost continuous war against them. It speaks well for the cunning, strategy and bravery of these people that they were able to maintain possession of so large an area of valuable hunting grounds. They sustained an excellent reputation among their enemies for skill and bravery in war. The pictographic history of the Dakota Sioux indicates that their wars with the Crows were almost continuous, usually ending in the defeat of the latter. As a tribe, they have been unusually friendly to the whites and rendered important service as friendly allies and scouts. Curly, the only survivor of the battle of the Little Big Horn, was a Crow scout in the service of General Custer. The history of the Crows, prior to their estrangement from their kinsmen, at the mouth of the Heart River, is the history of the Hidatsas, or the Gros Ventre tribe. It seems that the parent stock migrated from the north and east toward the Missouri River, and there met the Mandans; or it is quite as probable that the Hidatsas were the first to make their home on the Missouri, and were there joined by the Mandans. Their positively known migratory movements have been along the Missouri River up to the Knife River, and to their present location at Fort Berthold. Some writers claim that they were an agricultural people and were the first to build the timber-framed house. Their permanent dwellings were constructed of a substantial framework of timber, chinked and covered with dirt. It has been impossible to ascertain the time when the Crows abandoned their people. An old man of the tribe of Hidatsa, on being asked said, "They (the Crows) separated from us a long, long time ago. My father did not know when; his father did not know when; but his grandfather did know the time." The Crows now live upon their reservation in Wyoming and Montana, of about 60,000 acres. Their agency is located on a small branch of the Sweetwater River, about twenty miles from the Yellowstone.

The Crows are the extreme western and most isolated representatives of the northern branches of the Siouan stock. To the eastward they seem to have been excluded from intimate contact with their brethren by the migratory movements of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes, and to the northward by the Gros Ventres of the Prairie, an offshoot of the Arapahoes. A distinction should be made between this tribe of Gros Ventres, which is of Algonkin origin, and the Minnetarees, Hidatsa or Gros Ventres of Fort Berthold, who are the immediate relatives of the Crows, and are of Siouan origin. When the Gros Ventres of the Prairie separated from the Arapahoes, they pushed north and west between the Crows and their kinsmen. Gros Ventres, the French word for "big bellies," is not applied to either of these tribes on account of any physical peculiarity, for the members of neither tribe have larger abdomens than other Indians. The name is said to have been given them by the early French traders on account of their special liking for the white man's provisions. (See further note on Cheyenne Indians.)

[13]**Trading Posts on Missouri and First White Resident**—There are positive records of trading posts in South Dakota prior to the time the author indicates as the beginning of "settlement and trade in Dakota." Captains Lewis and Clarke, on their expedition up the Missouri in 1804, found three trading posts and quite a trade in furs carried on by independent trappers and traders. On September 8, 1804, they stopped at a fort that was known as the Pawnee House. This was located on the north side of the Missouri, about the present site of Wheeler, Charles Mix county, South Dakota. This post was built in 1796 by a French trader from St. Louis, named Trudeau, who wintered there in 1796-7, and traded with the Indians. Another trading post was then in operation on the south side of the Missouri River opposite Cedar Island, a little above what is known as the Big Bend of the Missouri. They described this as "a large trading post built by a Mr. Loisel for the purpose of carrying on trade with the Sioux. This establishment is sixty or seventy feet square, built with red cedar and picketed with the same material." It was established in 1802. Lewis and Clarke located still another trading post about four miles above the mouth of the Cheyenne River, "among the willows near the banks of the Missouri." This post was built by Mr. Valle, a French trader from St. Louis, whom they met at the mouth of the Cheyenne. Mr. Valle informs them that he spent the previous winter (1802-3) in the Black Mountains (Hills), going by way of the Cheyenne River. There were several resident traders at the Arickara villages near the mouth of the Moreau River. Here they found a Frenchman named Garreau, who had lived among the Arickaras about twenty years, or since about 1784. The Northwest and Hudson Bay traders from the Assinaboine posts made regular trips to the Mandans and Minnetarees, and as far south as the Arickaras near the mouth of the Moreau and Grand Rivers. Many independent traders ("scabs" in the nomenclature of the post trader) came up from the lower river as far as the Mandan villages, near the present site of Bismarck, North Dakota.

At Fort Mandan, where Lewis and Clarke wintered (1804-5), they were visited by McKenzie and Henderson and others of the Hudson Bay and Northwest companies. They had been trading with the upper Missouri Indians for many years previous to that date. I have been unable to secure the Christian name of the man Garrow, or Garreau, who was found by Captains Lewis and Clarke at the villages of the Arickaras. Quite an extensive investigation leads the editor to conclude that he was the first continuous white resident of Dakota. The descendants of this early settler have lived along the Missouri since that time, and I find representatives, in name at least, still living on White River, South Dakota. Pierre Garreau, a reputed son of the first Garreau, whose mother was an Arickara, died at Fort Berthold about 1880 at an advanced old age. He had lived all his long life on the Missouri River, among the Arickaras.

[14]**Mandan Indians**—The Mandans, a tribe of Indians, which lived on the banks of the Missouri River, about 1,600 miles above its mouth, when they were first visited by the white man. At that time their villages, several in number, were located on either side of the Missouri, in the neighborhood of the present cities of Bismarck and Mandan, North Dakota. They were first visited by the explorer Verendrye about 1738, who gave an elaborate account of them and his stay among them. They informed him that, prior to this time, fur traders from the far north had come to trade with them. At this period they were a powerful tribe, living in permanent stockaded villages. Judging from the abandoned village sites previously occupied by them, it is evident they had lived along the banks of the Missouri for many years. Their name in their own language signifies "the people of the east," and their traditions give their former abode as being about the headwaters of Lake Winnipeg. It is probable that they were driven from their homes at Lake Winnipeg about 1680 by the Crees and Assinaboines, both powerful tribes which about this period came in possession of firearms. Their first stopping place, after being driven out by their enemies, was on the Missouri River, where they were living at the time they were discovered by the fur trader. The Mandans were probably the most agricultural of all the historic Indians, unless it might be the Arickaras, whose mode of living was similar. In a crude, but successful manner, they cultivated the valley lands and the islands of the Missouri. Indian corn was their chief crop, though squash, beans and tobacco were raised by them in abundance. The early travelers found them rich in many thousands of bushels of corn, which they had stored away for future use. The Mandan was the first tribe of Upper Missouri River Indians to come in contact with the whites. They gave the new-comer the most cordial reception, and it may be said of them that their friendship was the most constant and loyal of all the tribes of the region. Their villages become the objective point for many of the early travelers and explorers, and a kind of a haven for the wandering fur trader and trapper. Subsequent to his visit in 1738, Verendrye and his company made a tour to their villages in 1740, and again in 1741

Recuperating at the home of the Mandans, Verendrye extended one of these tours as far as the foot of the Rockies, and returned by way of their villages. David Thompson, the Canadian explorer, visited them in 1797. Lewis and Clarke, on their tour of exploration across the mountains to the Pacific, built a fort near their villages and spent the winter of 1804-5. They were received with many evidences of friendship and given all the assistance within the power of the tribe to grant. Few Indian tribes of the continent have undergone the vicissitudes of fortune that have fallen to the lot of the friendly and peaceful Mandans. Surrounded on all sides by powerful enemies, who were bent on their destruction, they were compelled to wage almost a continuous war of defense. In all the historic period the pipe of peace was never smoked by the Mandan and Sioux, but to be soon broken by the Sioux. In 1838 smallpox was carried up to their villages from the lower Mississippi by the American Fur Company steamer, and within a few weeks but thirty-eight of this once numerous people were left alive. From this time and for many years thereafter, they ceased to be known as an independent tribe. The remnants joined their neighbors, the Gros Ventres, with whom they were friendly. Here they remained and slowly increased in number until, with the Gros Ventres, they were removed to Fort Berthold Indian agency, where they still live. They now number about three hundred and fifty.

The Mandans are Siouan, and are relatives to their neighbors, the Minnetarees or Gros Ventres of Fort Berthold. They are also remotely connected with the Crows and their arch enemies, the Dakota Sioux.

[15]**Governor Lewis**—Meriwether Lewis, born 1774, died 1809, was a Virginian, and entered the army as a volunteer to suppress the whisky insurrection in Pennsylvania, and from there was transferred to the regular service. He was President Jefferson's private secretary from 1801 to 1803. During the years 1804, '05 and '06, in company with Lieutenant William Clarke, he made an exploring tour by way of the Missouri and Columbia rivers to the Pacific coast. Lewis and Clarke and their party were the first white men to cross the northern Rockies and discover the headwaters of the Columbia and to make the descent to the Pacific Ocean. Shortly after his return from this expedition he was appointed governor of the vast and newly acquired Territory of Louisiana, and became a popular officer. In 1809, at the age of 35, and when governor, he committed suicide while in a fit of despondency. When his death occurred he was on his way to Washington, D. C.

[16]**General William Clarke**—William Clarke, a native of Kentucky, born in 1770, was a younger brother of General George Rodgers Clarke, a famous revolutionary soldier. In 1792 he became a lieutenant in the regular army, and in 1803 was assigned to service with Captain Lewis in an exploring expedition of the Missouri and Columbia rivers to the Pacific coast. He had attained the rank of captain prior to the beginning of this tour of discovery. In 1807 he resigned his commission in the

regular service and soon thereafter accepted the command of the militia of the Territory of Louisiana with the rank of brigadier general. In 1813 he was appointed governor of Louisiana, which office he held until 1820. In 1822 he became commissioner of Indian Affairs. He served with great distinction and credit in this capacity until his death, which took place in St. Louis, September 1, 1838.

[17]**Lewis and Clarke Expedition**—In January, 1803, in a special and confidential message to congress, President Jefferson proposed that an exploring party be dispatched to follow the Missouri River to its headwaters and cross the Rocky Mountains, and if possible reach the Pacific coast by descent of the Columbia River. The object of the expedition was to procure knowledge of that portion of the northwest of Louisiana then under negotiation for purchase from France, and make treaties with and extend the influence and friendship of the United States among the Indian inhabitants of this vast northwestern border, whose intercourse heretofore had been almost entirely with the British subjects of Canada.

The incentive to the president's recommendations was a desire to expand the trade relations with the Indians along the Missouri River and thereby secure to the people of the United States a larger share of the traffic in furs, which at that time was of large proportions and the only commerce of the region. At that time the territory in question belonged to France, though negotiations for its purchase by the United States were then in progress at the court of Napoleon and were near enough conclusion to give a certain tone to the president's language which was easily understood by congress. President Jefferson said in part: "The river Missouri and the Indians inhabiting it are not as well known as is rendered desirable by their connection with the Mississippi and consequently with us. It is, however, understood that the country on the river is inhabited by numerous tribes who furnish great supplies of furs and peltry to another nation (England), carried on in a high latitude, through an infinite number of portages and lakes, shut up by ice through a long season. The commerce on that line could bear no competition with that of the Missouri, traversing a moderate climate, offering, according to best accounts, a continued navigation from its source, and possibly a single portage to the western ocean, and finding to the Atlantic a choice of channels through the Illinois or Wabash, the lakes and Hudson, through the Ohio and Susquehanna or Potomac or James rivers, and through the Tennessee and Savannah." He suggests that a chosen officer and ten or twelve chosen men "fit for the enterprise and willing to undertake it, might explore the whole line even to the western ocean, have conferences with the natives on the way on the subject of commercial intercourse, get admission among them for our traders, as others are admitted, agree on convenient deposits for the interchange of articles, and return with the information acquired in the course of two summers." He further intimated to congress that "the nation claiming the territory would not be disposed to view with jealousy the action of the United States, even if the expiring state of its interests there did not render it a matter of

indifference." Congress quickly appropriated the sum ($2,500) suggested by the president as being sufficient for the purposes contemplated. The treaty for the purchase of the Territory of Louisiana from France was signed April 30, 1803, and was ratified by the United States senate the following October. The president selected Captain Merriwether Lewis of the First Regiment of infantry to lead the expedition and Lieutenant William Clarke as second in command, and instructed them "To explore the Missouri River from its mouth to its source and cross the high lands by the shortest portage and seek the best water communication with the Pacific ocean, and to enter into conferences with the Indian nations on the route with a view to establishing commerce with them." During the early months of 1803 these young officers went energetically to work perfecting arrangements for the journey, and rendezvoused at the mouth of Wood River, near St. Louis, in the early spring. Their forces consisted of forty-three persons, soldiers and citizens.

The party left their encampment near St. Louis on May 14, 1804, and July 31st held a council with the Ottoe and Missouri Indians, on the bluffs of the Missouri, near the site of the present city of Council Bluffs, Iowa, which still perpetuates the name given the spot by the explorers. On October 27, 1804, they reached the villages of the Mandans, near which they built a fort and named it Fort Mandan. Here they spent the winter of 1804-5. With a party of thirty-two persons they resumed their journey April 7, 1805, and on June 14th reached the Great Falls of the Missouri. August 15, 1805, they reached the crest of the Rockies and discovered the sources of the Missouri. Here they halted on a ridge that divides the waters of the Missouri and Columbia rivers, stood astride the first small waters of the Missouri, and, within a few rods, drank of the clear, cool mountain beginning of the Columbia. They made an adventurous descent of the Columbia and reached the Pacific coast November 13, 1805. They spent the winter of 1805-6 on the coast, near the mouth of the Columbia, and began their return trip March 23, 1806. After much hardship and suffering they recrossed the Rockies and reached the country of the Mandans August 14th. From their old friends they procured provisions and an opportunity for a much needed rest. Continuing their journey rapidly down the Missouri, they reached St. Louis September 23, 1806. Several editions of their journals have been published, one of which is still in print. The best and most complete is edited by Dr. Elliott Coues.

[18]**Oohenopa (Two-Kettle Band Teton Sioux)**—The band of Indians Lewis and Clarke met at the mouth of the Teton River was the Two Kettle branch of the Tetonwans, or Teton Sioux. They were at this time one of the more numerous and warlike of the seven subdivisions of the Tetons. They then occupied the valley of the Teton (misnamed Bad) River from the Missouri to its headwaters. Until within a few years representatives of the band still lived along this river, Crow Eagle, their present chief, having left the old haunts of his band but a few years ago. (See Editor's note 1, Dakotas of the Great Sioux Family.)

This stream upon which the Two Kettle band of Indians lived has been variously known as the Teton, Little Missouri and Bad River. Lewis and Clarke named it Teton, the name of the Dakota Sioux (Teton or Tetonwan), whom they met at its mouth. The Indians themselves called it Napka (river) Shicha (bad), or Bad River, the name by which it is now commonly known. It empties into the Missouri at the site of Fort Pierre, S. D. Teton is still the official name. I have thought it proper, when making mention of it in the notes to the author's text, to use the government name.

[19]**Early Trading Posts on the Upper Missouri**—There was, without doubt, much independent trading and several posts established for the purpose of trade among the Indian tribes of the upper Missouri prior to the time indicated by the author. Captains Lewis and Clarke, when on the exploring tour of the Missouri in 1804, found at least three trading posts that were then, or had been, in active operation. One of these, and probably the oldest of them, was built and occupied by the Indian traders from St. Louis, as early as 1796. Much earlier than this date independent traders had found their way to the home of the Arickaras, one of whom, it appears, had remained with this tribe continuously since about the year 1784. The traders from St. Louis and the lower country and those from the Hudson Bay and Northwest companys had met in their wanderings, north and south, a number of years before the expedition of Lewis and Clarke, probably with regularity as early as 1793. (For further information, see note 11.)

[20]**Manuel Lisa**—Manuel Lisa, a Spaniard, became a resident of St. Louis a few years prior to the transfer of Louisiana Territory to the United States. His sole occupation during an active life was trading with the Indians. In his chosen calling he was considered one of the most enterprising representatives of his time. As early as 1802 he, with two or three companions, pushed his way far into the Indian country. In the spring of 1807, Lisa and one George Drouillard, who crossed the mountains with Lewis and Clarke, made a trading tour from St. Louis to the Indian tribes on the upper Missouri, taking with them $16,000 worth of goods. These fearless traders, on this journey, went as far as the mouth of the Big Horn River, and in the fall of 1807 built a post there, which they named Fort Manuel. Lisa was one of the chief directors of the St. Louis (Mo.) Fur Company, and of the Missouri Fur Company. During this early period he made annual journeys to the posts of these companies as far as the headwaters of the Missouri. In 1814 he was appointed sub-Indian agent under Governor Clarke, and in 1815, at the instance of the latter, he visited the different tribes of Indians on the upper Missouri for the purpose of inducing them to return with him to St. Louis and meet Governor Clarke in council. Without doubt the efforts of Lisa had much to do with the friendly feeling entertained by the upper Missouri Indians for the United States, then at war with England. Lisa's influence among these Indians at

this period semed more conspicuous since their neighbors and kinsmen, the Sioux of the Mississippi, almost unanimously sided with the English and many of them did active service in the English army. During this trip Lisa held a council with the Yanktons at the mouth of the James River, at which about nine hundred warriors were present. Forty-six chiefs of the upper Missouri tribes accompanied him to St. Louis, arriving there in 1816. A council was held with Governor Clarke, at which interchanges of presents were made and treaties of friendship consummated.

Lisa made St. Louis his continuous headquarters and residence, and died at that place in 1820. (See also note 19.)

[21]**First Trading Companies to Establish Posts on the Missouri**—The first tour of Manuel Lisa up the Missouri for an incorporated fur company was in 1809, instead of 1814. The St. Louis (Mo.) Fur Company was organized early in 1808 by Governor William Clarke, Manuel Lisa, Sylvestre Labadie and others of St. Louis. Within two years, with Lisa at its head as the active projector, this company established trading posts at different points along the upper Missouri and its confluents, and pushing beyond the Rockies founded one post on the headwaters of the Columbia. Lisa, in person, led the band of attaches and superintended the establishment of these posts. In 1812 the Missouri Fur Company was organized and the St. Louis (Mo.) Fur Company merged into it. The Missouri Fur Company was reorganized in 1819. Subsequently many of the projectors entered the American Fur Company with John J. Astor.

[22]**Tahama—"The Rising Moose" (The One-Eyed Sioux)**—Tahama, which in the Siouan tongue means "The Rising Moose," was a famous chief of the Mdewakantonwan band of the Sioux, who lived in the region of Blue Earth and Mille Lacs in Minnesota. In the early part and beyond the middle of the last century he was one of the chief men of his people. Throughout his long life he seems to have maintained an excellent reputation for honesty. In childhood, while at play, he sustained the loss of an eye. The French named him "Le Borgne," or "One Eye," and by the English he was known as "the One-Eyed Sioux." He was said to have been the only Sioux Indian, with one exception, whose sympathies were with the Americans and who did active service for them during the war of 1812. In this crisis, when Joseph Renville and the old Little Crow led their Sioux followers against the United States forces, Tahama refused to join them. At this period he made his way to St. Louis, and at the solicitation of General Clarke, then Indian commissioner, he entered the service of the United States as a scout and messenger. As the author states, he returned in 1814 with Manuel Lisa, when the latter was on his way to confer with the Missouri River Indians, and parting with him at the mouth of the James River, carried dispatches to the Americans at Prairie du Chien. Through many privations and discouragements he remained loyal to the United

States and faithfully performed the duties assigned him. In after years it was his boast that he was the only "American Sioux," and history credits him with this distinction. (See Minn. Hist. Col., Vol. III, p. 150.) Without doubt, in so far as the Mississippi Sioux are concerned, this statement is correct, but it cannot apply to the western branches of the family, for the Sioux of the Missouri were friendly to the Americans. While on one of his trips to Prairie du Chien, Tahama was imprisoned by Colonel Robert Dickson, an Indian trader and at that time an officer in the service of the British, who, under threat of death, attempted to compel him to divulge some information relative to the Americans; but Tahama would not yield. After a term of imprisonment he was released and again visited St. Louis in 1816. On this visit he was present at the council held by General Clarke with the forty-six chiefs from the upper Missouri, who had returned with Manuel Lisa. On this occasion General Clarke presented him with a medal of honor and a captain's uniform, and commissioned him chief of the Sioux nation He is said to have been a man of fine physique, much natural dignity, and an orator of unusual ability. General Pike, for whom Tahama had formed a genuine attachment, addressed him as "my friend." Until his death, which occurred in April, 1860, at the advanced age of 85, he was much respected, not only by the whites, but by his own people. His birthplace was Prairie A' l' Aile, or the site of the present city of Winona, Minnesota.

[23]**Pierre Chouteau, Jr.**—Pierre Chouteau, Jr., born in 1789, was the son of Pierre Chouteau, one of the earliest citizens of St. Louis, Missouri, and one of the best known and more successful of the fur traders who operated from that point along the Mississippi and Missouri rivers. In 1804 the elder Chouteau withdrew from the Indian trade and soon thereafter his son, the subject of this sketch, took up his work. Pierre Chouteau, Jr., embarked on his first voyage to the Indian country in 1807. The following winter he spent among the Osages. In the spring of 1808 he returned to St. Louis. Meeting with Dubuque, who was then carrying on an extensive trade on the Mississippi river, he engaged with him to go to his principal post on the Mississippi. This was at or near the present site of the city of Dubuque, Iowa. Chouteau remained at this post until 1819, when he returned to St. Louis and formed a partnership with Berthold for operating a general store and to engage in trade with the Indians. To Chouteau was intrusted the management of the Indian trade. With much skill and energy he extended his acquaintance among the Indians, and soon the posts of the company were operating at different points along the Missouri and tributaries. Chouteau and his attaches, with boats loaded with goods, would leave St. Louis in the early spring, and often many months would pass before their return. In 1827 he entered the American Fur Company as a partner with John Jacob Astor, of New York, and soon thereafter became the manager of the company. The palmy days of

Gov. Newton Edmunds

the American Fur Company were during his active management. The long and tedious voyages up the Missouri, with the slow plodding keel boat, inspired Chouteau and his associates to attempt the navigation of the upper Missouri by steamboats. At the suggestion of his able field associate, Kenneth McKenzie, who was one of the company and stationed at Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone River, the steamer Yellowstone was built for the express purpose of navigating the Missouri. In 1831, with Chouteau on board, the Yellowstone began, at St. Louis, what was then thought an impossible feat, the navigation of the upper Missouri by steamboats. The Yellowstone made a successful trip, however, and reached Fort Pierre, the company's principal post, at the mouth of the Teton River, without mishap. The following year, 1832, under Chouteau's guidance, the Yellowstone again ascended the Missouri as far as the mouth of the Yellowstone River. In 1834 Chouteau purchased Mr. Astor's interest in the American Fur Company and continued the fur trade under the firm of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and Company. This new company practically monopolized the fur trade on the Missouri and Mississippi rivers from that time until the final closing of the fur trading epoch, about 1866. The name of Pierre Chouteau is extensively associated with the early history of Dakota. Many of the points marked by him and his associates in the fur trade still retain their ancient names. The epoch which enticed them and sustained them closed with their departure, but among the rubbish left by this intrepid advance guard are to be found many of our richer historic nuggets. His name is doubtless permanently fixed on the map of Dakota in the cities of Pierre and Fort Pierre and in the county of Chouteau, South Dakota. His death occurred at St. Louis October 6, 1865.

[24]**Old Fort Pierre and Fort Pierre**—The Fort Pierre built by Pierre Chouteau, Jr., for the American Fur Company, in 1830, should properly be called Old Fort Pierre, in contradistinction to the Fort Pierre in existence after the year 1857, when the government removed Old Fort Pierre and rebuilt it as Fort Randall. Old Fort Pierre was located about three hundred feet from the west bank of the Missouri River and about three miles above the site of the present city of Fort Pierre at the mouth of the Teton River. It was the successor of Fort Teton, built by Joseph La Frambois in 1817, on the west side of the Missouri, at the mouth of the Teton, and of Fort Tecumseh, built in 1819. The latter fort was located about two and a half miles above the mouth of the Teton and a half mile from the west bank of the Missouri. From the time of its occupancy by the American Fur Company in 1832, and for more than a quarter of a century afterwards, Old Fort Pierre was the chief emporium of the fur trade in the upper Missouri country, and an historic point around which revolved many of the important events in the early history of the Dakotas and the northwest.. It continued to be the main post of the American Fur Company until 1855, when it was sold to the United States to be used as a military post. The Sioux expedition, under General Harney, 1,200 strong, wintered there during

the winter of 1855-6. In the spring and summer of 1856 General Harney designated it the point for a general council with the different bands of Sioux. In 1857 the government abandoned the old fort and removed the available material by boat for use in the construction of Fort Randall, a new post then being built about a hundred miles or more down the Missouri. Thus was ended the existence of one of the most conspicuous landmarks of the old fur trading epoch. The Fort Pierre of the period subsequent to 1857 was located on the west side of the Missouri River, about six miles above the mouth of the Teton and about three miles above the site of Old Fort Pierre. The name still clings to the locality and is perpetuated in the cities of Pierre and Fort Pierre. (See "Old Fort Pierre and Neighbors," this volume, edited by C. E. DeLand.)

[25]**Jean Nicolas Nicollet**—Jean Nicolas Nicollet was an illustrious and talented French scientist, who at a comparatively early age held a professorship in the Royal College of Louis Le Grand, but who through financial misfortune became a refugee in the United States in the year 1832. His ability and rare accomplishments soon brought to him prominence in his adopted country, and also many friends, who recognized in him a genius of an unusual type. While still in Europe he had published works on astronomy and mathematics and had been honored by the Cross of the Legion of Honor. In 1833 and following years, under the direction of the war department of the United States, he made several tours of exploration, one of which, as the author notes, was in company with Lieutenant John C. Fremont, then a young but promising subordinate. In the tour Nicollet and Fremont came up the Missouri River to Fort Pierre, arriving in June, 1839, and from this point began the exploration of that portion of the region between the Mississippi and Missouri Rivers, northward to the international boundary line. Their party made their camp on the east side of the Missouri, about opposite Fort Pierre and on the site of the present city of Pierre, South Dakota. Nicollet states that while here, preparing for the start, he spent a day hunting the buffalo among the bluffs and on the plateaus surrounding Pierre, and, having wandered away from camp at the approach of darkness, became lost and spent the night among the breaks and brush on the banks of the Missouri. From Pierre they traveled to the northeast and reached the James River in July, passed northward and halted just east of the town of Mellette, South Dakota. The halt here was made by appointment with some parties from Minnesota, who were to join them at this point. The party then traveled northward and crossed the Coteaus to the Sheyenne River of the north and on to Devil's Lake, thence east to the Red River Valley. On their way they visited Big Stone Lake and Lake Traverse. The work accomplished by Nicollet on this tour was most valuable and comprehensive. The Nicollet map of this region is still considered among the most accurate and complete contributions yet made. He was the discoverer of the Mississippi River above Lake Itaska, and discribed

it and its characteristics and that of the surrounding country in minute detail. Throughout the years he was making these long and arduous journeys, Nicollet contended with poor health. His body was naturally frail, and the hardships incident to his work drew heavily upon his strength. He remained, however, a painstaking and much appreciated servant of the government until his death. Born in Savoy, France, July 24, 1786; died at Washington, D. C., September 11, 1843.

The expedition of 1839 was not, however, the first visit of Nicollet and Fremont to South Dakota. In 1838 they visited the Pipestone quarry in western Minnesota and thence explored and mapped the Sioux Valley and adjacent lake country of the coteaus, giving to most of the lakes the names which they still bear.

[20]**General Harney**—William Selby Harney, a major general in the United States army, was one of the conspicuous military figures of the middle half of the past century. Entering the service of this country at twenty-five, a lieutenant from his native state, Tennessee, he fought with credit in the Black Hawk and Florida wars, and at the time of the war with Mexico was colonel in command of the Twenty-Fifth dragoons. He was the recognized cavalry leader of the Mexican war, and at its close was breveted brigadier general for gallantry and meritorious services. As an Indian fighter he was the most uncompromising and successful of his time. It is as a leader of military expeditions against the Indians and as a member of treaty commissions that his name and service enter prominently into the history of Dakota. In the peace expedition of General Atkinson in 1825, which ascended the Missouri to the mouth of the Yellowstone River, Captain Harney took command of a portion of the troops and ascended the river as far as Two-Thousand-Mile Creek. Having accomplished the object of the government—treaties of friendship with the tribes of the upper Missouri—the expedition returned to St. Louis, where it arrived in October, 1825. The unfortunate killing of Lieutenant Grattan and his comrades in 1854 near Fort Laramie, which was the culmination of a long list of depredations and murders by the Sioux, determined the government to inflict speedy and vigorous chastisement upon them. General Harney, who was then in Europe on leave of absence, was recalled and given command of the force of 1,200 troops for the expedition. He reported at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, in the spring of 1855, and with his troops proceeded to Fort Kearney, Nebraska Territory, and from thence to the Blue Earth River, a northern branch of the Platte. He was now in the country of the Brule Sioux, and soon learned that they were encamped at Ash Hollow, near the western emigrant trail. Harney determined to attack them as soon as possible, and lost no time in deploying his troops. Little Thunder, the chief of the Brules, requested an interview, which was granted. General Harney told the chief that he must give up the warriors who had been robbing and murdering the emigrants. Little Thunder demurred, but extended his hand. The general refused it and told him to go back to his people and prepare for battle, for he

was going to attack him at once. In the engagement which followed Little Thunder and his followers sustained a crushing defeat. Following the engagement, Harney led his troops to Fort Laramie and northward into the Black Hills in search of other bands of Sioux. While in the Black Hills they halted near the mountain known as Harney's Peak, which was then named for the general. From the Black Hills the expedition came across the old trail from Laramie to Fort Pierre, on the Missouri River. This fur trading post had been recently purchased by the government and a military reservation laid out along the Missouri. There the command of General Harney wintered 1855-6. During the winter of 1855, General Harney called a council of all the Sioux bands to meet him at Fort Pierre the following March and in a general council hear his demands upon them and present to him their grievances. In sending for them General Harney gave them to understand that if they did not choose to meet him in council he would march against them in the following spring, and assured them that his soldiers would fight them as they did Little Thunder and his band of Brules at Ash Hollow. But one band, the Blackfeet Sioux, remained away. The council was held at Fort Pierre from March 2 to March 8, 1856, and much was done to allay the hostile feeling of the Indians and to correct the irregularities practiced by the traders among them. Harney ordered that hereafter all trading should be done at the military posts. Though General Harney was a vigorous foe when he was warring with the Indians, yet his just and honorable treatment of them when they submitted to his wishes made them his friends. In council he used much time and patience in giving them information and advising to their advantage. In his report to the secretary of war of his council at Fort Pierre he said: "It is not too late for us to requite in some degree this unfortunate race for their many sufferings. * * * With proper management a new era would dawn upon such of the Indians as are left." Several governmental reforms in Indian affairs followed his recommendations. Head chiefs of each band were selected, through his advice, and a uniformed military police, such as is now in existence on Indian reservations, was organized. The organization was not fully appreciated by other officers of the government, and was permitted later on to lapse General Harney was a member of the Sioux commission of 1868; commander of the Department of Oregon, and later in command of the Department of the West with headquarters at St. Louis.

General Harney was retired from active service in 1863. In 1865 he was created a major general in the regular army for long and faithful services. Born in Tennessee in 1800; died at Orlando, Florida, in 1889.

[27]**Fort Pierre**—Fort Pierre did not remain a national station. (See editor's note number 22, and "Fort Pierre and Neighbors," by C. E. DeLand, this volume.)

[28]**George Catlin**—George Catlin, artist, distinguished as a painter of Indian portraits and scenery and also as creator of the famous Catlin

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Portrait Gallery, was born at Wilkesbarre, Pennsylvania, July 26, 1796. His famous collection, now in the Smithsonian Institute at Washington, numbers hundreds of paintings of Indians and the scenes of their wild surroundings. This was Catlin's life work. Adopting this line of work when quite young, he carried it out faithfully and with such success that his collection is recognized as a most valuable contribution to history and art. In 1831 he came from Philadelphia to St. Louis, and early in 1832 embarked on the American Fur Company's steamer, The Yellowstone, then beginning her second long and tedious trip to the trading posts of the company on the upper Missouri. After many halts on the sandbars of the Missouri, they arrived at Fort Pierre, where they remained a few days and continued their voyage to Fort Union, a post of the company at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Here he was given a welcome and rendered valuable assistance by Kenneth McKenzie, the ablest and most highly educated of the western partners of the American Fur Company, who was then in charge at Fort Union. After spending some time painting Indian portraits, sketching and studying scenes of their surroundings, Catlin began his return voyage down the Missouri River in a skiff, making sketches of the scenery through which he passed, and stopping at every Indian camp to paint their portraits and note their customs and habits. Arriving at Fort Pierre, he found about six hundred lodges of Teton Sioux. These he painted, together with pictures of the fort and of many of the more prominent chiefs of the Sioux bands. While at Fort Pierre and Fort Union he wrote part of a series of interesting letters which were later published in book form and are still in print. He also visited the Pipestone quarries of Minnesota, sketched the surroundings and wrote entertainingly of their legends and history. In this way he visited most of the Indian tribes of the continent and faithfully portrayed each tribe in its native haunts and its primitive state. He also wrote letters with entertaining descriptions of their habits and their customs. Subsequently he visited Europe with his gallery of Indian portraits and Indian scenes, and exhibited the same in London, where it was viewed by large numbers of people with absorbing interest. George Catlin was a man of courage and steadiness of character, moral and upright, whether among the Indians or in the most polite society. His work has given him a place in history and remains a monument to his genius and his industry—a place in history which becomes more fixed as the Indian race vanishes. He had the satisfaction of knowing himself appreciated and his work esteemed at its true value. He died in 1873 at the age of 79 years.

[29]**First Lands Ceded in the Dakotas**—The lands referred to by the author were ceded by the Wahpeton and Sisseton Sioux, who claimed the country about Big Stone and Traverse lakes, and by the Mdewakanton and Wakpekute, who lived farther south and claimed the lands south to Spirit Lake, Iowa, and west to the Big Sioux River. This cession, made in 1851, was the first territory ceded by the Indians within the

limits of the Dakotas, though included at the time in what was called the Territory of Minnesota. Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, met the northern band of Sioux at Traverse des Sioux, now St. Peter, Minnesota, and on July 23, 1851, made the treaty which extinguished the Indian title to their lands as far west as the Big Sioux River. This is known as the treaty of Traverse des Sioux. On August 5th of the same year, at Mendota, in the Territory of Minnesota, a similar treaty was made with the southern bands claiming the country southward to Spirit Lake, Iowa. The treaty embraced all lands within Minnesota Territory, lying between the Mississippi and Big Sioux Rivers. Though the Indians received what was considered then as a fair compensation for the lands ceded, this cession concluded their right in the most desirable of their lands, and compelled them to abandon their long established homes, and pitch their tents on more limited and less desirable hunting grounds. Much dissatisfaction among the Indians grew out of this sale of their favorite haunts. The Inkpaduta branch of the Wakpekutes were not included in the treaty made at Mendota, and for this Inkpaduta, with his followers, in March, 1857, wrought cruel vengeance upon the innocent settlers of Spirit Lake, Iowa. Later the discontent, from causes whether real or imaginary, culminated in the great Sioux outbreak of 1862. (For text of these treaties see Appendix A.)

The provisions of the treaties made with the Mdewakanton and Wakpekute bands at Mendota were similar to the treaty of Traverse des Sioux, above given, except that the former ceded the lands about the mouth of the Big Sioux and along the Iowa and Minnesota border.

[30]**Charles Eugene Flandrau**—Born in New York, July 15, 1828. Went to sea in boyhood, but later studied law and was admitted to practice 1851. Settled in St. Paul 1853. Was government agent for Sioux nation 1856. Commanded the defense of New Ulm in massacre of 1862. Associate justice supreme court 1857-64. Author history of Minnesota and many historical papers. Observe the spelling of his name was not preserved in the orthography of his Dakota namesake, which by an error received an "e" in the last syllable.

[31]**Inkpaduta, or Scarlet Point**—This Indian is distinguished as the leader of a small band of vagabond Sioux, who massacred the settlers at Spirit Lake, Iowa, in the spring of 1857, and whose exploit on this occasion is sometimes called Inkpaduta's war. He and his followers seem to have been the outlaw and unruly characters of the Wakpekute Sioux. Under the leadership of a former chief, they separated from the main tribe and roamed as far west as the Missouri River. Prior to 1857 they planted on the lands about Spirit Lake and hunted westward along the Big Sioux, where they spent most of their time. When Governor Ramsey, of Minnesota, made a treaty with the Wakpekute Sioux at Mendota in 1851, which extinguished the title to all their lands east of the Big Sioux, Inkpaduta and his followers were not recognized as members of the tribe and took no part in the negotiations. In 1856, however, they

came to Yellow Medicine agency and demanded of Agent Flandrau their share of annuities. Not succeeding in their purpose, they returned to the neighborhood of the Big Sioux, threatening violence. After the massacre at Spirit Lake, the subject of this note, with his warriors, fled westward into what is now South Dakota, carrying with them four women captives. In their flight they crossed the Big Sioux at about where now stands the city of Flandreau, South Dakota, continuing in a westerly course to Madison, thence northwest through Kingsbury, Hamlin, Clark and Spink, and crossing the James River at the point near where now is located the town of Old Ashton. Here they found about two thousand Yankton Sioux encamped on the west bank of the river, and were cordially received by them. In a few days after this, two friendly Sioux, sent by Agent Flandrau from Yellow Medicine agency, arrived and ransomed Miss Gardner, the last of the captives. Two of these captives had been murdered on the march—Mrs. Thatcher at the crossing of the Big Sioux, and Mrs. Noble six days' journey to the northwest and one day's journey from the James River. After this exploit Inkpáduta was regarded by the Sioux as a great warrior and an ideal hero. Slight chastisement was inflicted upon Inkpaduta and his followers. One son, Roaring Cloud, the cowardly murderer of Mrs. Noble, was the only one who met his death as a result of the massacre. Inkpaduta led the Sioux in the battle of Big Mound, near Bismarck, between the Sioux and General Sibley, in 1863. He escaped into Canada, where he died a natural death.

[32]**Spirit Lake Captives Rescued—Other Day, Paul May and Greyfoot—** The captives were not rescued by the military expedition against Inkpaduta, but by friendly Indians. Two of them were murdered, Mrs. Thatcher at the crossing of the Big Sioux at Flandreau and Mrs. Noble by a son of Inkpaduta, one day's journey from the camp of the Yanktons on the James River. (See note 31.) One of the captives—Mrs. Marble—was ransomed by two Christianized Indians of the Wahpeton band, i. e., Sehahota (Greyfoot) and his brother. While on their spring hunt along the Big Sioux, they met a hunter from the Inkpaduta band through whom they learned of the women captives held by Inkpaduta's band, then camped at Cahnptayatonka, or Skunk Lake. (Lake Herman, near Madison, South Dakota.) They proceeded to this camp, and by paying for her all of their possessions, ransomed Mrs. Marble and delivered her safely to the missionaries, Rev. S. R. Riggs and Dr. Williamson, at Yellow Medicine agency. Miss Abbie Gardner, the other surviving captive, was rescued by John Other Day and Paul Mazakutamane, two Christian Indians of the Sisseton band, who, through Agent Flandrau, volunteered to attempt her rescue. They followed Inkpaduta over the long trail to the camp of the Yanktons on the James River, and after rescuing Miss Gardner, successfully brought her through the long and perilous journey to the Yellow Medicine agency. These noble Christian Indians rendered signal and valuable services to the settlers and missionaries at the time of the great Sioux outbreak in 1862. Other Day

led sixty-three persons from a position of imminent peril to a place of safety, and later fought with desperate valor under General Sibley at the battles of Birch Coulie and Wood Lake. Paul Mazakutamane's services were not less valuable to the whites. They became residents of South Dakota, and one of them (Greyfoot) still lives, at the age of 66 years, on his farm near Sisseton. The remains of John Other Day lie in an unkempt plat about twelve miles northeast of Wilmot, South Dakota, and those of Paul Mazakutamane at Long Hollow, near Sisseton, South Dakota. They have all earned a permanent place in our early history. The debt to them cannot be paid except by grateful remembrance of their heroic deeds and Christian character. (For extended review of their character and deeds see Monthly South Dakotan—Greyfoot, January number, 1901; John Other Day and Paul Mazakutamane, in October number for 1900.)

[33]**Navigation of the Sioux**—It is not probable that the Sioux Falls refugees were the first to take canoe voyage on the Big Sioux River. On the contrary, it is quite probable that voyageurs of the early explorer, Le Seuer, navigated the Big Sioux in canoes as early as 1684. It is not at all likely, either, that the lonely continent tramps of the fur trading epoch, the Courier Du Boise, the voyageur, who penetrated almost every nook of the vast fur producing region, would have failed to launch his bull boat or his temporary raft of logs upon the waters of the Big Sioux.

[34]**Fort Sod**—The builders of the fortification at Sioux Falls named it "Fort Sod." In a letter to his father, Secretary James M. Allen thus describes it: "We have erected of sods and logs a perpendicular wall eighty feet square, ten feet high and four feet thick, with a ditch surrounding the exterior base. Port holes are arranged every few feet in the wall and an inner platform to stand upon. We also have an enclosure of three acres securely fenced for the cattle. We now feel safe and are determined to resist the Indians, and if necessary to fight them. We want to teach them that they cannot every season drive off the settlers on this disputed land. The new settlers, Mr. Goodwin and his wife, have moved into our old cabin, which is now a wing of the storehouse, and Mrs. Goodwin has made a large flag out of all the old flannel shirts we could find, and we now have the stars and the stripes proudly waving over 'Fort Sod.' All the property of the place is now deposited with us, including the movable portion of the sawmill machinery. We are on a military footing; have organized into a company. Sentries and scouting parties on duty day and night. All told, we number thirty-five men for defense, not including the woman, and she can shoot a gun as well as any one. We feel secure now and could fight six hundred Indians, and even if the walls could be scaled, which is almost impossible, we could retire into our stone house, which is impregnable." June 17, 1858.

[34-2]**Wilmot W. Brookings** was born at Woolwich, Lincoln county, Maine, about 1833. He graduated from Bowdoin in 1855, and afterwards studied law. Was admitted to practice in Maine in June, 1857, and arrived in Sioux Falls on August 27th of that year and was immediately made manager of the interests of the Western Town Company. The next February, while endeavoring to secure the Yankton townsite for his company, he was caught in a blizzard and lost both feet. Made the first pre-emption in Dakota, upon the tract where the Queen Bee mill at Sioux Falls stands. Served in the first territorial legislature, and was several times re-elected. Was two terms prosecuting attorney of Yankton county and associate justice of the supreme court from 1869 to 1873. Judge Brookings was the leading spirit in promoting the Dakota Southern Railway, the first to be built into the territory. He now resides in Boston.

[35]**Charles F. Picotte**—There were three persons named Picotte who in an early day came to the upper Missouri country to engage in the fur trade—Honore, Joseph, his brother, and Henry, their nephew. They first appeared as employes of the Columbia Fur Company, of which Joseph Renville was founder, and Kenneth McKinzie and William Laidlow were partners. They arrived about 1820 and were stationed at the company's principal post on the Missouri, Fort Tecumseh, near the mouth of the Teton (commonly called Bad) River. This post was the immediate predecessor of old Fort Pierre. (See my note No. 10.) Henry, the nephew of Joseph and Honore, remained in the employ of the company until it was purchased by the American Fur Company in 1827. He then joined in the organization of the opposition company, known as the French Fur Company. I have been unable to clearly trace his history subsequent to 1830, when the French company was absorbed by the American company. Joseph spent many years in the fur trade on the Missouri, filled responsible positions, became well-to-do, but subsequently lost his earnings and died at Whitestone Indian agency in 1868. Honore, the father of Charles F. Picotte, whom the author mentions, was the ablest and most influential of the early Picottes. He was also connected with the Columbia Fur Company from his arrival in the Missouri Valley until 1827. From 1827 to 1830 he was one of the leading partners in the French company. He then became a partner in the Upper Missouri Outfit, a company working in harmony with the American Fur Company. The following twenty years were spent in the employ of these companies. During this period he rose to high rank in the affairs of both these companies, becoming one of the principal partners. At intervals we find him in charge of the American Fur Company post on the Yellowstone River and on the Missouri above Fort Union, but much of this time he was superintendent of affairs at old Fort Pierre. Later he removed to St. Louis and continued his residence at that place until his death. Early in his career on the Missouri River, Picotte married an Indian woman of the Teton branch of the Dakotas. Their son, Charles F. Picotte, was born at Fort Tecumseh about 1823. When quite young he was sent to St. Louis, where he

was carefully educated in the English branches, returning to the Indian country when he was about twenty years of age. Soon after his return he married a woman of his mother's band. Subsequent to her death, which occurred a few years thereafter, he married into the Yankton Dakotas and took up his residence among them. He soon became the most influential man of the Yanktons. General Harney, in 1855-6, found him an able interpreter and helper in his councils with the Indians, and in 1856, at Fort Randall, he was created "third chief of the Sioux nation" by Harney. During the negotiations for the sale of the lands embraced in the treaty of 1858, Picotte rendered special and important services. At this period he was without doubt the best and most favorably known character on the Dakota frontier. At the time of the treaty of 1858 the government granted him a section of land upon which a large portion of the city of Yankton now stands. For some years thereafter he was a leading and public-spirited citizen of the young capital. In partnership with Moses K. Armstrong (afterwards delegate to congress) he erected the first capitol building of the Territory. On many important occasions he acted as guide, interpreter and counsellor during adjustment of differences and treaty negotiations between the government and the Indians. He is said to have been too generous to succeed in businss affairs. In due time the almost princely gift of the site of the city of Yankton passed from his hands. His death occurred among his people at Yankton agency a few years since.

[36]**Treaty Known as the Treaty of 1858 With Yankton Indians**—(For text of this treaty see Appendix B.)

[37]**Palaneapape (Strikes-the-Ree)** — Palaneapape (Strikes-the-Ree), head chief of the Yankton band of the Sioux and so named for attacking in battle a larger number of Rees, was an old and greatly venerated chief at the time of the sale of their lands to the government in 1858. His village up to this time was on the banks of the Missouri River, about where the city of Yankton now stands. He had then long been a prominent man among his people. In 1856 he was among the more influential chiefs at the general council held between the Sioux bands and General Harney at Fort Pierre. On this occasion he made a long and sensible address. He seems to have been a natural friend to the white man, and was rigidly honorable in the observance of all treaties entered into by his band with the government. After an agreement was reached he vigorously opposed any violation of its provision, or depredations against the settlers. On one occasion one of his young men murdered a white man. Strikes-the-Ree had him executed in return. The services rendered by him at the time of the great Indian outbreak in 1862 are most noteworthy. The Santee Sioux had sent emissaries to the Yanktons to induce them to join in the hostilities against the settlers. In the council which followed four of the seven chiefs of the Yanktons favored joining the hostile movement and massacre the handful of whites among them. To Strikes-the-Ree is due the credit for having allayed the murderous spirit of

his band and stayed the impending calamity to the settlers. In this council he plead for the safety of the settlers with all the eloquence of which he was capable and declared that "no white man's blood had ever stained his hands." His relations with the early executives of Dakota were most cordial. Through his influence fifty or more of his men rendered valuable service as scouts during the perilous times in 1862, following the massacre in Minesota. On another page of the text the author quotes Governor Faulk in a short but flattering estimate of this honorable and venerable old chief. Palaneapape was born about 1800, and died at Yankton agency in 1887.

General James B. S. Todd—One of the first, if not the first, prominent Dakotans, was a Kentuckian by birth and was born in April, 1814. When a youth he removed with his parents to Springfield, Illinois. At the age of nineteen he entered the military academy at West Point and graduated from this institution in 1837. Soon after his graduation he entered the regular army, served as second lieutenant of the Sixth United States Infantry and served in the Florida Indian wars. He was then transferred to service at Fort Gibson, Indian Territory. He remained on the Indian frontier until 1846, at which time he was assigned to duty as a recruiting officer. He spent the year 1846 recruiting for service in the war against Mexico. In the meantime he had been promoted to a captaincy, and early in 1847 was ordered to the front. He took part in the siege of Vera Cruz and fought with great credit and bravery at the battle of Cerro Gordo, under General Harney. After the close of the Mexican war he served at Forts Ripley and Snelling, on the Minnesota frontier. In 1855 he was one of the officers in command during the famous Harney expedition against the hostile Sioux Indians.

In the fall of 1855 he came with the rest of Harney's command across the plains from Fort Laramie to Fort Pierre, and with the rest of Harney's 1,200 troops spent the winter in 1855-6. In the fall of 1856 Captain Todd resigned his commission in the army and became sutler at Fort Randall, South Dakota. In civil life he was a member of the firm of Frost, Todd & Co., which established trading posts on the Missouri. One of these was established in 1858 on the site of the present city of Yankton, South Dakota. Captain Todd was largely instrumental in negotiating the treaty known as the treaty of 1858, with the Yankton and Ponca Indians, which opened to settlement a large territory in South Dakota east of the Missouri River. In 1859 he was chosen by the Yankton settlers as their messenger to the national capital to plead for territorial government for Dakota. It was chiefly through his efforts that an early territorial organization was secured. After the organization into a territory in 1861, Captain Todd was elected Dakota's first delegate to congress. In September, 1861, while a member of congress, President Lincoln appointed him brigadier general of volunteers, and placed him in command of the north Missouri military district. In 1862 he commanded the Sixth division of the Army of the Tennessee. In the fall of 1862 he was re-elected to congress from Dakota. After his service in congress in 1865 he re-

turned to Dakota and took up his residence at Yankton. He was elected to the territorial legislature and was speaker of the house in the session of 1867-8. General Todd was for a number of years the leading citizen of Dakota and rendered conspicuous service to the young Territory. In the early formative stage in Dakota's territorial career his faithful and energetic labors were almost invaluable. General Todd was a cousin of the wife of President Lincoln and enjoyed the acquaintance of a large number of the leading men of his time. His death occurred at his home in Yankton, South Dakota, January, 1872.

[39]**Settlement of Yankton**—In the spring of 1858 a settlement was undertaken at the present site of the city of Yankton by W. H. Holman and several others, of Sioux City. They erected a cabin and opened a land office, and many claims were staked out. The Indian title had not been extinguished and the Indians would not tolerate the intrusion. The party was dislodged by a party of government troops from Fort Randall. In the spring of 1858, Major Joseph R. Hanson also arrived at Yankton. The Indians, however, being opposed to the settlement, he, with his companions, erected a hut on the Nebraska shore and patiently waited the ratification of the treaty. Frost, Todd & Co. erected a trading post on the site of Yankton, about May, 1858, and this building and business was in charge of Frank Chappel, George Presho and George D. Fisk. (Doane Robinson, History of South Dakota, pages 55 and 56.)

Agent Redfield did not stop at Yankton and spread his tarpaulin there, as indicated in the text. The Yanktons were assembled at the Yankton town site, to await the coming of the agent with supplies of rations, as provided by the treaty. Redfield, with these supplies, on a steamboat, put in an appearance on July 10, 1859, and passed along up the river. The Indians followed along the banks and arrived at the site of Yankton agency the next day, where Redfield set up his canvas-covered agency and made a ration issue.

[40]**Yankton Indian Reservation**—The Yankton Indian reservation, which was set apart for the Yankton Sioux at the treaty of 1858, is in Charles Mix county, South Dakota, and contains 430,000 acres. The Yankton band removed to this reserve in 1859, where they still live.

(Editor's explanatory map Indian treaties.)

[41]**Governor Henry Masters** was a native of Bath, Maine. He was a lawyer by profession and spent some years in Brooklyn, New York, and came to Dubuque during the '50s. He was one of the organizers of the Western Land Company, which made the first settlement at Sioux Falls, and took up his residence there in the summer of 1858, being accompanied by his family, and pre-empted a tract of land and built a home upon it. The house stood at the point now occupied by the home of Dr. L. T. Dunning, at the corner of Duluth avenue and Eighth street, Sioux Falls. At the convention of settlers mentioned in the text, called for September, 1858, Mr. Masters was chosen as provisional governor, a choice which was confirmed by the provisional legislature which convened the follow-

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ing winter. In the fall of 1859 it was determined to hold a general election in the settlements of Dakota, and preliminary thereto a nominating convention was held at Sioux Falls on the 3d of September, at which Mr. Masters was duly nominated for re-election as governor. He died from apoplexy two days later, September 5, 1859, and the name of S. J. Albright was substituted. Mr. Masters was a gentleman of education and refinement, fond of theological studies and an adherent of the Swedenborgian faith. Shortly before his death he delivered a lecture in Sioux Falls on this topic. He was highly respected among the settlers. He made one of the earliest contributions to South Dakota literature in the form of a poem to the falls of the Sioux, which was published in the first issue of the Dakota Democrat, July 2, 1859, and although a bit stilted in style shows taste and ability.

[42]**Jefferson P. Kidder**—Jefferson P. Kidder was a native of Vermont, where he attained considerable reputation early in life as a lawyer. He was also honored by being elected lieutenant governor of his native state and by being chosen the Democratic party candidate for congress. In 1857 he removed to St. Paul, Minnesota, where he remained until 1865. During his residence at St. Paul he was three times elected a member of the legislature and became prominent in the affairs of the state. President Lincoln appointed him associate justice of the supreme court of the Territory of Dakota in 1865. Judge Kidder selected Vermillion as his place of residence. He was reappointed justice in 1869, and was a second time reappointed in 1873. In 1874 he became the Republican party nominee for congress and was elected over the Democratic nominee, Moses K. Armstrong, by 2,500 votes; and again in 1876 he was elected delegate to congress. In 1880 he was returned to the supreme bench of the Territory by appointment of President Hayes, who was the fourth president to honor him with this appointment. He died before the end of his fourth term. Judge Kidder was one of the ablest and most respected citizens of our territorial times. Born in Vermont, June 4, 1818; died at St. Paul, Minnesota, September 2, 1883. (E. H. Willey, Monthly South Dakotan, June, 1898.)

Judge Kidder made his first visit to Dakota in 1859, arriving in Sioux Falls on the 29th of August. Five days later he received the nomination for delegate to congress at the convention of September 3d, which he accepted, and on September 4th returned to his home in St. Paul. At the election on September 12th he was elected over Alpheus G. Fuller, the independent candidate, and went to Washington, where he made a long fight for a seat, but was refused. Afterwards congress paid to him the expense incurred in the contest for recognition. There is no record of his again appearing among his Dakota constituents until 1865.

[43]**The First Newspaper**—The newspaper referred to by the author was the Democrat, first published at Sioux Falls in 1859 by Provisional Governor Samuel J. Albright. It is doubtful, however, whether the Democrat was in existence at the time of the territorial organization in 1861. The

press upon which the Democrat was printed had the following interesting history: The press upon which the Democrat was printed was purchased in Cincinnati in the spring of 1836, and used in printing The Dubuque Visitor, the first newspaper printed in the state of Iowa. Thence it was taken to Lancaster, Wisconsin, in March, 1843, and the Grant County Herald printed upon it. This was the first newspaper in western Wisconsin. In 1849, James M. Goodhue, editor of the Herald, removed the press and outfit to St. Paul, Minnesota, and printed upon it the St. Paul Pioneer, the first newspaper in the state of Minnesota. Thence, in 1858, it was brought to Sioux Falls, and the first newspaper in Dakota was established and printed upon it. When the settlers abandoned Sioux Falls in 1862, the press was left there and was thrown upon the rocks and destroyed by the Indians. The platen of it is now in the possesion of Senator Richard F. Pettigrew, and the estate of Mr. Fred Pettigrew owns the spindle. The type and material used in the publication of the Democrat were in 1861 taken to Vermillion and used in the first publication of the Vermillion Republican. (From Doane Robinson's History of South Dakota.)

"**Doctor William Jayne, First Governor**—Doctor William Jayne, the first territorial governor of Dakota, was appointed early in 1861 and arrived at Yankton May 27th of the same year. He was a practicing physician of recognized ability at Springfield, Illinois, the home of President Lincoln. At the time of his appointment he was thirty-five years old, and has the distinction of being the youngest executive of territorial times. The first executive mansion was a small log cabin, which then stood on one of the principal streets of the present Yankton. Here, under the direction of the young governor, the territorial epoch began and organized government was inaugurated in Dakota. After some preliminaries the governor directed that the Territory be districted and proclaimed that an election of legislative bodies be held, and set the 17th of March, 1862, as the date of the opening of the session. The legislature convened at the time set and remained in session sixty days. During this time there was enacted a complete code of laws, and after a spirited contest between Vermillion and Yankton, the territorial capital was located at the latter city. In 1862 Governor Jayne received the Republican nomination for delegate to congress, and in the election which followed was opposed by General J. B. S. Todd, the Democratic nominee. Governor Jayne was declared elected by the canvassing board and was given his certificate of election. On account of alleged fraud about four hundred votes of the Pembina district had been rejected. General Todd, however, contested his seat before the United States house of representatives, where it was decided that the Pembina votes be counted. The result was in favor of General Todd, who secured the seat. In the meantime Governor Jayne had resigned the office of governor. After General Todd's successful contest, ex-Governor Jayne returned to Springfield, where he still lives. During his long life he has filled many important offices in his native city and state, and is now enjoying the evening of his

life in quiet and comfort. (See Monthly South Dakotan, George W. Kingsbury, volume 1, page 1.)

[45]**Capital Contest**—Sioux Falls did not enter into this early capital contest. Bon Homme seems to have been the chief rival of Yankton.

[46]**Captain Nelson Miner and Miner County**—Miner county, South Dakota, was named jointly for Captain Nelson Miner and Mr. Ephraim Miner, both of whom were members of the legislative body which created the county.

[47]**Fort Yankton**—Captain Nelson Miner arrived in August and relieved Captain Ziebach and was thereafter in command. Fort Yankton, or the Yankton stockade, is thus described: "The stockade commenced on Fourth street on the alley west of Broadway, and ran east to Cedar street; thence south to about midway of the block south of Third street; thence west to place of beginning, and was built of parts lumber, dirt and such other material as could be obtained. A large blockhouse was built inside, and altogether the fortification was quite formidable. Nearly all the people around Yankton were concentrated within the stockade, also many from Bon Homme, where they remained for several weeks and until winter was approaching and the great danger from Indian raids was over for the season. The stockade on the north side was built by digging a trench and throwing up the dirt and sod on the outside, in the ordinary way of throwing up entrenchments, and was about four feet thick and about eight feet high. The east side was built by setting posts about eight feet apart. Boards were then nailed on each side. The space between the boards, which was about ten inches, was filled with dirt and solidly tamped down. The east and west sides were built by setting oak posts close together in the ground. The east, west and south sides were about seven feet high. Port holes were made a few feet apart on the sides except the north side, where men could lay, or crouch in the trench and fire from the embankment. The main gate was on the south side, where it crossed Broadway. In front of this gate was an old smooth-bore four-pound cannon, mounted on wagon wheels, manned and loaded ready for action. There were bastions on the northeast and southwest corners of the stockade." (Doane Robinson's History of South Dakota.)

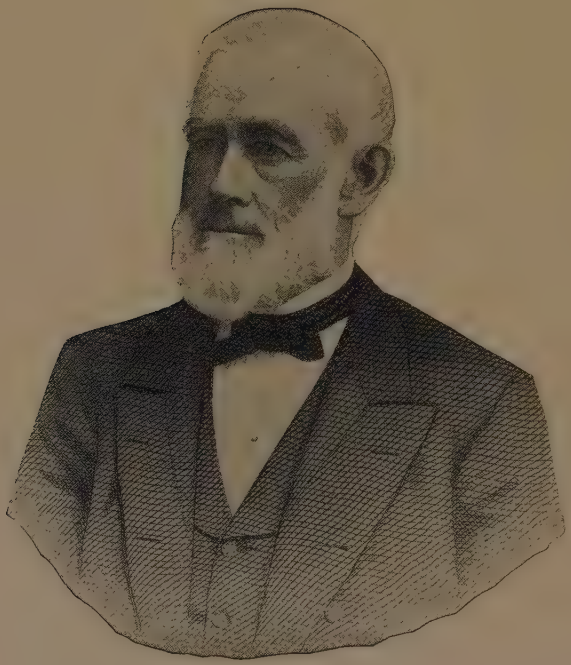
[48]**Taoyataduta (Little Crow)**—Taoyataduta (Little Crow, Jr., Petit Corbeau of the French) was the last chief of the Kaposia band of the Sioux. Through a long line of chiefs the village of this band was near where St. Paul, Minnesota, now stands. Little Crow, Jr., was, without doubt, the greatest of these chiefs, and before his death became the leading Sioux chief of his time. Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, Crazy Horse and Gall of the Tetons had not at this date come into prominence. In many respects he was a man worthy to rank with King Philip, Tecumseh, Osceola and Black Hawk. James W. Lynd, the historian, who lived many years among the Dakotas and knew him personally most of his life, thus speaks of him: "Little Crow possesses a shrewd judgment, great foresight and

a comprehensive mind. As an orator he has not his equal in any living tribe of Indians. In appearance he is dignified and commanding. He is about 5 feet 10 inches in height, has small but piercing hazel eyes. His head is small, but his forehead bold." Little Crow was a typical Indian in disposition and habits, and always opposed to any change from the established habits of his race. He was unfriendly to the missionary and used his influence against any changes incident to their teachings. By natural selection he became the leader of the war party among the Sioux of the Mississippi. In 1862 he was the leading spirit and the commanding Indian figure in the bloody massacre in Minnesota. Estimated by the white man's standard, he was a savage of the most cruel type. From the standard of his own race he was a model hero, one of a fast vanishing type of red men of which, among the Sioux, Chief Gall was probably the last representative. Had he lived he would have submitted to the inevitable like Red Cloud or Gall, or the less venerated Sitting Bull, and lived in peace with the government. Like the latter, he was throughout his life an uncompromising enemy of the white man and the white man's ways. If we are to judge him from his war spirit, he is just such a man as would have, with Sitting Bull, exclaimed when the Sioux treaty of 1889 was signed, "There are no Indians now; except my Uncapapas they are all dead; those wearing the clothing of warriors are only squaws." Little Crow met his death at the hands of a settler named Lampson, July 3, 1862, a few miles north of Hutchinson, Minnesota. He was then leading a small band of warriors in a raid against the frontier settlement. (For fuller history of Little Crow, see Minn. Hist. Col., Vol. 2, page 147.)

Mr. Lampson, who killed Little Crow, removed to South Dakota and lived for many years on a farm near Wilmot, Roberts county, where he recently died and where his family still resides.

[49]**Troops at Fort Pierre 1862**—In November, 1862, one company of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry, or Twenty-first United States Infantry, was transferred from Fort Randall to Fort Pierre. They and the train of government teams were escorted by Captain Miner's Dakota cavalry. This company of Dakota men seemed to have given the only protection to the settlers, though there were seven hundred government troops at Sioux City and Fort Randall. The escort of Captain Miner's cavalry returned to Randall from Fort Pierre late in December, bringing with them white captives from Minnesota. (See A Sidelight on Sioux Character, Monthly Dakotan, Vol. V, page 120.)

[50]**General Alfred Sully**—A United States army officer of long and faithful service on the Indian frontier, and whose vigorous campaigns against the hostile Sioux bands of the northwest in the years 1863-64-65 brought him into prominence as an Indian fighter; was the son of an emigrant painter and was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, in 1821. Soon after his graduation from West Point academy in 1841 he was assigned to duty in the Second Infantry, then doing active service in the Seminole Indian war. At the attack on Howe Creek camp in January, 1842, the young of



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ficer acquitted himself with much credit and subsequently took part in the various military operations until the close of the war. After the end of the Seminole war he was assigned to garrison duty on the Great Lakes, where he remained until the beginning of the war with Mexico, when he was ordered to the front. He participated in the siege of Vera Cruz in 1847, and soon thereafter was ordered north on recruiting service. Following the close of the war with Mexico he was stationed in California In 1852 he was made a captain, and in 1853 took part in the operations against the Rogue River Indians in Oregon. We next find him in active duty on the Indian frontiers in Minnesota, Nebraska and Dakota. Captain Sully was stationed at Fort Ridgely, Minnesota, until the spring of 1856, when he led a command westward across the plains and joined General Harney at Fort Pierre on the Missouri River. In 1859 he was granted a leave of absence for one year, which he spent in Europe, and in 1860-61 was again on the frontier in a campaign against the southern Cheyennes. Early in 1862 he served in the defense of Washington, D. C., and in March of that year was made colonel of the Third Minnesota regiment. During General McClellan's memorable change of base on the James River, Colonel Sully led a brigade and was brevetted lieutenant colonel United States army, for gallantry at Fair Oaks, and colonel for conspicuous bravery at Malvern Hill. September 26, 1862, after the campaigns in northern Virginia and Maryland, he was promoted to brigadier general of volunteers. General Sully led his brigade in the battle of Chancellorsville. In May, 1863, he was assigned to the command of the department of Dakota. At the close of the civil war he was made a brigadier general by brevet in the regular army and major general of volunteers. From the close of the war until late in 1867 he served on the board of promotion and at special service for the interior department among the Sioux Indians on the upper Missouri and Platte rivers. During this period he visited all the bands of the Sioux of the Missouri and held councils and made treaties with them. Subsequently he served on the retiring board and was commander of the district of Arkansas. His long service in the army came to a close at Vancouver Barracks, Washington Territory, where he died April 27, 1879. At the time of his death he was in command of the Twenty-first United States Infantry. General Sully was assigned to the department of Dakota after the great Sioux Indian outbreak and the bloody massacre along the frontiers of Minnesota and Dakota. His predecessor had failed to protect the frontier settlements or punish the hostiles for their murderous incursions. His reputation as a daring and successful Indian fighter had preceded him, and he was hailed as a deliverer, especially by the exposed frontier settlements in Dakota. His campaigns of 1863, 1864 and 1865 amply proved that their confidence was not misplaced. No other military commander, either before or since, so fully and completely, and yet so humanely, chastised and subdued the Sioux bands. In the campaign of 1863 General Sully's army marched from Sioux City up the Missouri to Bismarck, and thence to the valley of the James River. At a point near the present town of Ellendale, Dickey

county, North Dakota, they overtook the hostile Sioux. Here a battle was fought, September 3, 1863, between 2,000 Sioux warriors and about 1,200 men of Sully's troops, which resulted in a severe defeat and rout of the Indians. This engagement is known as the "battle of White Stone Hills." It was a most decisive Indian defeat. About four hundred warriors were slain and many were taken prisoners. The succeeding year, 1864, General Sully again fought the Sioux and defeated a large congregation of warriors on the Knife River, about one hundred and fifty miles northwest from Bismarck, North Dakota. This battle is known as the "battle of Takaakwta," or Deer Woods, a name given the locality by the Indians. A few days after the battle of Takaakwta a three days' running engagement was fought in the edge of the Bad Lands, where a large number of the Sioux had congregated. On the evening of the third day the Indians made a final and desperate effort to turn the tide against the invaders, but the skillful disposition of General Sully's troops made the disaster to them complete. Leaving all their provisions and equipage in the hands of the troops, they escaped into the interior of the Bad Lands. Though thoroughly beaten in these campaigns, many of the warriors still remained hostile, and in 1865 another expedition led by General Sully was sent against them. Sully marched his troops from Fort Sully to Devil's Lake and then west to Forts Berthold and Rice. During his tour to Devil's Lake the hostile bands made a determined assault on Fort Rice, but were repulsed by the garrison, then under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Pattee. At General Sully's approach to Fort Rice the Indians dispersed, evidently not wishing to again meet their old antagonist. The military operations of General Sully in Dakota re-established the Indian frontier west of the Missouri River, along which he located military posts and placed garrisons. Under his direction old Fort Sully was built on the east bank of the Missouri, about four and one-half miles east of Pierre, South Dakota; Fort Rice on the west bank above the mouth of the Cannon Ball River, and Fort Totten on the shores of Devil's Lake. He also remodeled and garrisoned Fort Berthold. His name is prominently impressed on the map of Dakota in the county bearing his name and linked with much of our history, in the long and interesting existence of old Fort Sully, built in 1863, removed thirty-five miles farther up the Missouri and rebuilt in 1867, and the new Fort Sully, which remained one of the main military posts of the upper Missouri until its abandonment in 1894. (See my note Fort Sully.)

[51]**Fort Sully**—There were two forts named Sully—old Fort Sully, which was in existence and occupied from 1863 to 1866, and the later, or new Fort Sully, which was established in 1866 and was continuously occupied as a military fort until its abandonment in the fall of 1894. Old Fort Sully was built by the orders of Major General Alfred Sully in the fall of 1863 and was named for him. It was located about eighty rods from the left (east) bank of the Missouri River, a short distance above the head of Farm Island and about four and one-half miles southeast of

the city of Pierre, South Dakota. It was 270 feet square and was built of cottonwood timber taken from Farm Island. A portion of the command of General Sully in the campaigns of 1863-4 and 1865 against the Sioux was garrisoned at old Fort Sully. It was abandoned in the fall of 1866 on account of its unhealthful location on the lowlands of the Missouri. The later, or new Fort Sully, was located thirty miles farther up, and on the same side of the Missouri, and about twenty miles below the mouth of the Cheyenne. Its erection was began in July, 1866, but it was not completed until 1868. The site of the new fort was much more suitable and healthful than the old Fort Sully. Indeed it was an ideal spot for a fort for defense. It stood on an elevated plateau about 160 feet above a wide and beautiful valley of the Missouri. Its site was also about the same elevation above much of the surrounding prairie. This Fort Sully was for many years one of the main military forts in Dakota.

[52]The Indian referred to was shot by Charles Wright, who is now a resident of Yankton.

[53]**Fort Dakota, Sioux Falls**—Fort Dakota was established at Sioux Falls in 1865 and was garrisoned by government troops. It was abandoned in 1870, at the suggestion of the legislature of the Territory that it was no longer needed.

[54]**Governor Newton Edmunds**—Newton Edmunds, the second governor of Dakota Territory, was the right man in the right place at the right time. He was governor from 1862 to 1866. When he was made executive of Dakota the general government was in the throes of the civil war and the Sioux Indian tribes were in open hostility. The year of his appointment is memorable in the history of the northwest by the massacre of settlers in Minnesota and Dakota. Then followed the military operations that drove the hostiles westward beyond the Missouri in Dakota and shifted the Indian frontier from Minnesota to the Missouri River. The campaign of 1863 and 64-65 by Generals Sully and Sibley against the Indians had resulted in severe chastisement, but they remained as hostile as ever. At the beginning of his term of office Governor Edmunds set about the task of pacification of the Indians and, with rare judgment and skill, eventually gained their confidence and finally became the chief factor in bringing about a permanent peace. In 1864 he visited the Poncas in person, who were on the eve of an outbreak on account of outrages committed by drunken United States soldiers. Eight innocent and friendly Poncas had been murdered without provocation by these soldiers. In this crisis the governor, by kindness and patience, reached a pacific understanding with the Indians, thus ending an imminent danger to the Dakota settlements. In 1865 Governor Edmunds visited Washington and laid his plans for pacification of the Sioux before President Lincoln. He asked sufficient funds to enable him to visit the different bands of Sioux in person. Twenty thousand dollars were appropriated for the purpose. Governor Edmunds began his work of pacification of the Sioux in the fall of 1865, and after about

a year of vigorous work his efforts were crowned with success. He went among the Sioux personally without arms and practically without military escort, and made treaties that restored peace for many years. He rendered valuable aid in 1876, when the United States commission met the Indians to secure cession of the Black Hills. In 1882 he was chairman of the Sioux commission and rendered valuable services. Governor Edmunds was considered an able and conservative executive, and fulfilled the other duties of his office with the same care and faithfulness with which he prosecuted his labors among the Indians. The young Territory was singularly fortunate in having in its executive chair at this time in its existence a man of the qualities Governor Edmunds possessed. He was a native of New York state and was born May 31, 1819. With his parents he removed to Michigan in 1832. In 1861 he was chosen chief clerk to the surveyor general of Dakota. This position he held until appointed governor. Governor Edmunds is still alive and an honored citizen of Yankton. (See Dr. Joseph Ward's extended biography, Monthly South Dakotan, June, 1898.)

[54-2]**Prohibition**—By act of congress of July 10, 1832, congress absolutely prohibited the transportation or use of intoxicating liquor in the Dakota country, and endeavored to enforce the law by placing inspectors at Leavenworth to stop liquors in transit up the river. The shrewd traders, by one subterfuge or another, managed to evade the prohibition to a certain extent, but the debauchery of the Indians was not so aggravated by the use of liquors thereafter as it had been for many years previous.

[55]**Fort Thompson**—Following the Indian barbarities in western Minnesota, the United States congress, in February, 1863, directed that the Winnebagoes and some of the bands of the Santee Sioux, who were implicated in the uprising, should be removed to some point outside of the boundaries of any state. The point chosen was on the Missouri River, in what is now South Dakota. A reservation was surveyed that extended from about the site of old Fort Lookout northward along both sides of the river as far as the Big Bend. This territory included portions of several counties in South Dakota. The agency post, or Fort Thompson, as it was designated, was established at the mouth of Crow Creek, in 1863. It was named for Clark W. Thompson, the superintendent of the northern division of Indian agencies, who located the site. Fort Thompson, though an agency post, was, on account of its stockades, 300 by 400 feet in dimensions, a semi-military fort, and for some time was garrisoned by United States soldiers. On May 30, 1863, about 3,500 of the exiled Winnebagoes and Minnesota Sioux Indians were landed on their new reservation. These Indians were afterwards removed to agencies farther south—the Winnebagoes, in 1864, to the Omaha reservation, and the Santee Sioux, in 1866, to their present reservation at the mouth of the Niobrara River, Nebraska. Fort Thompson is still continued as an agency for the Yanktonais band of the Sioux or Dakota Indians.

Gov. Nehemiah G. Ordway

[56]**General Sibley**—General H. H. Sibley, for many years a prominent figure in the affairs of the northwest, was born at Detroit, Michigan, February 20, 1816. In 1829 he entered the employ of the American Fur Company at their post at Mackinac as a clerk. In 1834, at the age of 23, he came to the Sioux Indian country, now Minnesota, in the interest of the company. Between 1834 and 1848 he had charge of the company posts at Mendota, St. Peter and near St. Paul. In 1848 he was elected a delegate to congress from the Territory of Wisconsin, which then included Minnesota. At this session of congress the new Territory of Minnesota was created. The two following sessions of congress he served the Territory of Minnesota, but declined the nomination in 1853; was elected governor of Minnesota in 1857, and again returned to congress in 1871. His military fame rests upon his brilliant and decisive campaigns against the Sioux in 1862-3, following the massacre of the settlers in Minnesota. Governor Ramsey of Minnesota appointed him colonel of the volunteer forces to protect the frontier and chastise the hostiles. In the campaigns of 1862, with his raw troops, he met and defeated the exultant and defiant bands under Little Crow at Birch Coulie and again at Wood Lake. By these victories he liberated 250 white women and children captives and took 2,000 of the enemy prisoners. By General Sibley's directions a military court was formed which tried and convicted three hundred or more for murder, thirty-eight of whom were hung at Mankato, Minnesota. In the fall of 1862 he was commissioned brigadier general of volunteers by President Lincoln. In 1863 General Sibley again led an expedition against the hostile Sioux. In this campaign General Sully, of the United States army, was to move up the Missouri and form a junction with General Sibley near Devil's Lake, North Dakota, with the hope of bringing on a decisive engagement with the Indians. General Sibley had 3,000 volunteers under his command, and General Sully had about the same number. General Sully was delayed and failed to co-operate in the battles which took place. General Sibley found the hostiles were moving westward toward the Missouri. His command pushed rapidly forward and overtook them at about the eastern border of Burleigh county, North Dakota. On July 24th a battle was fought at Big Mound between General Sibley's forces and about 4,000 warriors, which resulted in the defeat of the Indians. Two days later they were again defeated at the battle of Dead Buffalo Lake, and again, July 27th, at Stony Lake. In this series of battles the hostiles were driven beyond the Missouri, at the point where the Northern Pacific Railway bridge spans the Missouri, near Bismarck, North Dakota. During 1864-5 General Sibley had command of the troops for the defense of the northwest frontier. In 1865 General Sibley was commissioned brevet major general of volunteers, and the following year was relieved of his command. In 1866 he was a member of the commission which met the upper Missouri Sioux at Fort Sully, South Dakota, and made treaties. Died at St. Paul, Minnesota, February 18, 1891.

[57]**Gabriel Renville,** chief of the Sissetons, was a representative of one of the most noted families of the frontier. He was the son of Victor Renville and Winona Crawford, both mixed bloods. His father was killed by the Chippewas at Sauk Center, Minnesota, in 1834. His mother was a daughter of the famous Captain Crawford, who served the British at Prairie du Chien and for whom Fort Crawford and Crawford county, Wisconsin, were named. The first representative of the Renville family in the northwest was Joseph Raenville, or Renville, a French Canadian voyageur and fur hunter who married into the Kaposia or Little Raven band of the Sioux. The result of this union was two half-breed sons, Joseph and Victor, father of Gabriel. The elder Joseph Renville died about 1790. Joseph was the most noted representative of the family. Long and Pike, when on their tours of exploration, employed him as interpreter and praise him for his ability and faithfulness. He acquired great influence over the Indians and became one of the head-men of the Koposia band. During the war of 1812 his sympathies were with the English. At the instance of Colonel Robert Dickson he entered the service of the English with the rank of captain, and with the older Petit Corbeau, or Little Crow, commanded a detachment of the Sioux. He was present at the attack on Fort Meigs. During the war he distinguished himself for bravery and moderation. After the close of the war he was pensioned by the British government and went into employ of the Hudson Bay company. He withdrew, however, from the employ of the company and relinquished his pension. In 1822 he organized the Columbia Fur Company, which was during its existence the most flourishing competitor of the Northwest and American companies. Associated with him in the Columbia company were such men as General Ashley, Kenneth McKenzie, William Laidlow. The posts of the company were established at Fort Pierre, at the headwaters of the Red River and other points within the Dakotas, its chief post being at Brown's Valley. When the Columbia company sold out to the American Fur Company, Renville became connected with this company and thereafter until death was stationed at Lac-qui-Parle. He was born near St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1779, and died at Lac-qui-Parle in 1846. He was a devout and consistent Christian and during his life rendered great service and comfort to the early missionaries. Gabriel, the subject of this sketch, was born at Sweet Corn's village on the west shore of Big Stone Lake, April, 1824, and died at Brown's Valley, within ten miles of his birthplace, August 26, 1892. He became chief of the Sissetons through the aid of the military, after his band had been located on their reservation in the northeast part of South Dakota. Subsequent to the Minnesota massacre he became chief of scouts under General Sibley and gained distinction for his ability.

[58]**Fort Abercrombie**—Fort Abercrombie was located in June, 1857, by an order from the headquarters of the army. United States troops under command of Lieutenant Colonel J. J. Abercrombie arrived at the site selected in August, 1858, and remained during the winter of 1858-9. It was abandoned in the year 1859, but reoccupied in 1860. On September 30th, and again on September 6, 1862, it was vigorously assaulted

by the hostile Sioux. In 1863 the fort was much strengthened by improvements. The location of Fort Abercrombie is on the west bank of the Red River, in Richland county, North Dakota, about twelve miles north of the point where the Otter Tail and Bois des Sioux rivers join and form the Red River. The location was selected on account of being near the head of navigation on the Red River and also on account of its close proximity to the northern Indian tribes. It became an objective point and a depot of supply for the forces under General Sibley during his campaigns against the Sioux in 1863. Fort Abercrombie was abandoned as a military post in 1877.

40-3**George D. Fiske** came to Yankton in 1858 as manager of Frost, Todd & Co.'s trading post. He was frozen to death in the great storm of January, 1860, his being the first death to occur among the white settlers in Yankton.

40-3**Joseph R. Hanson** was the first white settler to enter Yankton after the ratification of the treaty of 1858, and at this date (1902) still resides on a fine farm near the city. He served as chief clerk of the first territorial legislature and was a member of the house in the fourth session. He served many years as Indian agent at Yankton, Crow Creek and Grand River agencies.

40-4**Frank M. Ziebach** is a native of Union county, Pennsylvania, where he was born in 1830. He is a pioneer in western newspaper making, having established the Western Independent at Sargeant's Bluffs, Iowa in 1857, the Sioux City Register in 1858, and the Dakotian at Yankton, June 6, 1861. Was mayor of Sioux City from 1868 to 1870 and mayor of Yankton from 1876 to 1879. Was a member of the territorial legislature of 1877. He still (1902) resides at Yankton.

40-5**Enos Stutsman** was one of the notable men in the early days of Dakota Territory. By a natural deformity he had but one leg, and that was but about one foot long; nevertheless he managed to get about with a good deal of freedom. He was of more than ordinary intelligence and in the practice of law, and as a parlimentarian, he could hold his own with the best. It is said that he possessed no sense of physical fear, and would fight for his rights or in defense of a principle as quickly as any able-bodied man in the Territory. He was one of the pioneers who entered Yankton upon the date of the ratification of the treaty, July 10, 1859, and was elected to the first five territorial legislative councils, and was several times president of that body. He died at Pembina, North Dakota, in 1876. (For anecdotes illustrating the character of Stutsman see Monthly South Dakotan, Vol. 2, page 199, also Vol. 4, page 110.)

40-6**The Interregnum**—On May 29, 1858, immediately after the admission of the state of Minnesota, the house of representatives at Washington declared that the portion of Minnesota Territory not included in the boundaries of the state of Minnesota, continued as the Territory of

Minnesota, and admitted W. W. Kingsbury of St. Paul, who had been, before admission, elected delegate to congress from the Territory of Minnesota, as delegate from the portion not admitted as a state.

[46-2]**Joseph B. Amidon** arrived in Sioux Falls with his wife and two grandchildren in the fall of 1858, being among the first to bring his family to Dakota. He came from St. Paul, Minnesota. Upon the organization of Minnehaha county in the spring of 1862, he was nominated by Governor Jayne, and elected by the legislature, probate judge and treasurer of the new county, and held these positions at the date of his death. He was killed a short distance northwest of the present site of the penitentiary at Sioux Falls. His body was recovered and brought in by Hon. George B. Trumbo, at this date (1902) representative in the legislature from Bon Homme county.

[50]**Fort Totten, North Dakota**—During the compaign of 1865, against the Sioux, General Sully camped on the shores of Minnewaukon or Devil's Lake. At that time he examined the surroundings and chose a suitable place for a military post. This post was established in 1867 and was called Fort Totten. Its site is on the southeastern shore of the lake and on a plateau about forty feet elevation above the water. At the time of its establishment the nearest postoffice was at Fort Abercrombie, on the Red River, and the nearest town was St. Joseph, Minnesota, 110 miles away. In 1872 brick quarters were erected for four companies, also quarters for the commanding officers and subordinate staff. By order of General Hancock, then commander of the department of Dakota, Fort Totten military reservation was created. The order for its survey was made at St. Paul, Minnesota, June 30, 1869. A reservation was afterwards set apart for the Cut Head band of the Sioux and is known as Devil's Lake Indian reservation. At present the agency headquarters are at Fort Totten.

[60]**Tatankaiyotanka (Sitting Bull)**—This famous Indian belonged to the Unkapapa branch of the Teton Sioux and was born about 1834 on the Grand River, within the boundaries of what is now the state of South Dakota. He was not a hereditary chief. In his youth his name was said to have been Standing Holly, but he was given his father's name, Sitting Bull, after a successful forage against the Crows, in which the lad distinguished himself. It is said that he early developed unusual political cunning and great powers of oratory, and that he never lost an opportunity to engage in a harangue against the whites and incidentally to exploit his own great prowess. In due time he became a political agitator and spokesman for his band and secured an active following among the hostile and discontented elements. Subsequently he became the most active representative of the discontented classes in all the bands of the Teton Sioux. In his contentions with the government it may be noted that Sitting Bull acted in unison with the great soldier chiefs, Crazy Horse and Gall. Without doubt, much of his renown is due to his association as haranguer, or what is known as medicine chief, to these

able and dashing warriors. Sitting Bull came into general prominence in 1875, when he and Crazy Horse refused to meet the United States commissioners to negotiate for the relinquishment of the Black Hills. Neither Crazy Horse, Gall nor Sitting Bull paid any attention to the summons sent by the commissioners, and later, when a special messenger was sent to them, directing them to appear at Red Cloud agency, Sitting Bull said to the government representative: "Tell the big chief of the white men if he wants to see us he must come here. We will not go to the reservation. We have no lands to sell, nor do we want any white men here." He was with Crazy Horse and Gall at the battle of the Rosebud, when these leaders checked the northward march of the columns under General Crook in 1876, and a week later was with these intrepid war chiefs at the battle of the Little Big Horn, where General Custer and his command were annihilated. From reliable Indian authority he appears to have been a voluntary non-combatant in this struggle, though it seems improbable that one of so much authority and influence would fail to take a prominent part at such a crisis. Though often spoken of as being chief in command, it is safe to say that he took a subordinate place in the field and that Crazy Horse and Gall were the real leaders in this great Indian victory. In 1877, when Crazy Horse and other prominent chiefs surrendered, Sitting Bull and Gall escaped to the British possessions with a large contingent of the hostiles. In 1879 they returned to this side of the border, but were met and severely defeated by the troops under General Miles. Gall and other influential chiefs then submitted, but Sitting Bull again escaped into Canada with the remnants of the hostiles. In 1881 he returned to the United States and in July of this year appeared at Fort Buford, Montana, and voluntarily surrendered to the United States troops. With him were about two hundred old men, women and children. The old chieftain gave up his rifle, through his little son, whom he wished to become a friend of the white people and be educated as their sons are educated. He said: "I wish it to be remembered that I am the last man of my tribe to give up my rifle." Sitting Bull was imprisoned at Fort Randall until 1883, when he was transferred to his people at Standing Rock agency, Dakota. When he was being taken under military escort from Fort Randall to Standing Rock, the boat that carried him spent a day at Pierre, South Dakota. Sitting Bull was permitted to land and take in the sights. It was the writer's privilege on this occasion to meet him and secure his autograph. At that date he appeared to be about fifty years old. In stature he was somewhat below the height of the ordinary Indian, but he was heavily and powerfully built. His chest was unusually deep, his shoulders broad and his neck thick and short. His head was rather large, jaws heavy and firmly set. His manner was quiet and his features at all times immovable, though in his expression could be noticed a subdued air of superiority and an occasional trace of contempt. He was, however, approachable and accommodating, and wrote his autograph in a plain, legible hand—for a dollar. Take him all in all he impressed one

as being more than an ordinary man, of unusual firmness, stubbornness of character and tenacity of purpose.

As a leader in battle he was, without doubt, inferior to Crazy Horse and Gall, both of whom were natural leaders and warriors, but in political finesse and cunning and ability to sow the seeds of discontent among his nation and nurture its growth, he was probably not equalled by any contemporary Indian. He fairly earned the distinction of being the most astute agitator of his kinsmen, the most persistent, unrelenting, uncompromising foe to the white man, of his race and time. Though not a leader in battle, he may be considered an inspiring genius, and after the surrender of Crazy Horse and Gall the central figure in the longest and probably the most successful Indian campaign ever carried through on the continent. Sitting Bull was killed by friendly Indian police at his home on Grand River, South Dakota, while being arrested by order of the government during the excitement incident to the ghost dance, December 15, 1890. For more than ten years before his death he seems to have been peaceable and law-abiding. Like all the Indian race, and especially those of his years, he probably yearned for the old free hunting life of his earlier years, and without doubt hoped to realize the prophecies of the new messiah. Consequently he may have encouraged the ghost dance and have indirectly stimulated the excitement which finally led to the outbreak. When he met his violent death he seems to have been at his own home on Grand River, near the place of his birth, having with him but comparatively few followers.

[61]**Walter A. Burleigh**—Walter A. Burleigh, a physician, pioneer Dakotan and one of the early territorial congressmen, was born in Waterville, Maine, October 25, 1820. He practiced medicine in Maine and later in Pennsylvania, and gained enviable success in his profession. He enthusiastically supported Lincoln in the campaign of 1860. In recognition of his valuable work President Lincoln, in 1861, offered him a foreign mission. This he declined, but later, upon being offered agent for the Yankton Indians, accepted and became a resident of Dakota. Dr. Burleigh was agent of the Yankton Sioux and was stationed at Greenwood in 1863, when the hostile Sioux from Minnesota threatened to overrun the Territory. On this occasion he repaired to Washington and was largely instrumental in having 3,000 or more troops under General Sully sent to protect the Dakota frontier. Through Dr. Burleigh about fifty of the Yankton followers of the old chief Strikes-the-Ree were enlisted as scouts in the government service. This was most important, for it secured the friendship of the great body of the Yankton band. Dr. Burleigh was elected delegate to congress in 1864 and again in 1866. While in congress he was an active and influential member. He was nominated but defeated in 1868. In 1877 he was elected to the territorial senate and was re-elected the following term. Dr. Burleigh removed to Montana and while a resident of that state served in the legislature and in several important conventions. He, however, returned to Yankton, South Dakota, and served as a member of the legislature in 1893. His death

occurred at Yankton, March 7, 1896. (For extended biography, see National Cyclopedia of Biography.)

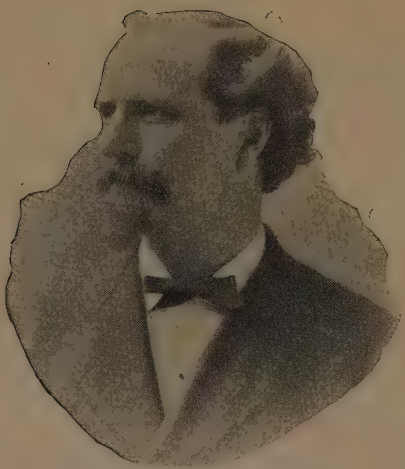
[62]**James S. Foster**—James S. Foster came to Dakota from central New York as the head and originator of a colony of about one hundred families who arrived in the spring of 1864. He was born at Salisbury, Conn., in 1828, and with his parents removed to New York. He became a teacher and pursued this calling for several years in New York before coming to Dakota. After establishing himself in Dakota he became the first superintendent of public instruction. Subsequent to this he held the office of commissioner of immigration for ten years. In this capacity he worked vigorously for the settlement of the Territory. Through his efforts several colonies were planted, one of which was the Menonites. Later, in 1869-70, he entered upon newspaper work and became editor and proprietor of the Yankton Union and Dakotian. In 1880 Mr. Foster removed to Mitchell and engaged in the real estate business. He held various county offices. He was suddenly and accidentally killed by the discharge of a gun while removing it from a buggy, September 30, 1890.

[63]**Gideon Curtis Moody** was born at Cortland, New York, October 16, 1832; received academic education and studied law in Syracuse; removed to Indiana and was admitted to the bar in 1852, and in 1854 was elected prosecuting attorney for Floyd county; enlisted in the civil war, Ninth Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and served till 1864, rising to rank of colonel; located at Yankton, May, 1864; was speaker of the legislature, justice supreme court, delegate to Republican national convention 1868, 1888, 1892, member of constitutional conventions of 1883 and 1885, United States senator 1889-91.

[64]**"Corn Raised by Indians"**—Corn was raised in abundance by the Arickara, Mandan and Gros Ventre Indians in the upper Missouri Valley. At this date their homes were on the Missouri from Bismarck, North Dakota, southward. In early times each tribe had large fields of valley and island lands under cultivation. In this earlier, prosperous state they deposited large quantities of surplus corn in caches, or caves, in the ground. Their traditions indicate that they had some partial failure of their crops, but still their surplus was adequate for their exigencies. Indian women long ago solved the problem of Dakota as a corn country. An early traveler records that he saw a large field dotted with Mandan women who were hoeing corn with a hoe made from the shoulder blade of the buffalo. The secret of the Indian woman's success in corn raising in Dakota was doubtless acclimated seed and work.

[65]**Father DeSmet**—Peter John DeSmet, a native of Belgium, was a Jesuit missionary who became distinguished for his extensive journeys and ardent missionary labors among the Indian tribes of the northwest. In July, 1821, when 21 years old, he came to America and attached himself to the diocese of St. Louis. During his ministry he became a zealous and persevering apostle among the Indians and wrote extensively of their

conditions and needs. The record of his missionary wanderings makes him one of the more active gospel heralds, a missionary athlete, one of the most conspicuous among those devout and self-sacrificing souls whose missionary spirit led them far among the abodes of savage and hostile tribes and whose trials and privations in behalf of the Indian have marked them heroes. Contemporary with the labors of such men as Dr. Riggs and Dr. Williamson among the Sioux of the Mississippi, Father DeSmet was extending his tours among the tribes of the upper Missouri and to many of those beyond the Rockies, his itineraries finally extending to the Pacific and far into the Athabasca region. Making St. Louis his headquarters, he was for some years a missionary among the Potowattamies, Ottoes and Pawnees. As early as 1840 he had visited many of the Indian tribes of the Rockies. By 1843 he made a tour of the Oregon country and on to the Pacific, and had established missions within these regions. In 1849, in a report to his superiors, he recounts his journeyings thus: "I have traversed at different times the vast plains which are watered by the Missouri and its principal tributaries, such as the Platte, the White, the James, the Niobrarah, the Yellowstone and the three great forks that constitute the source of the Missouri, viz: the Jefferson, the Gallatin and the Madison; coasting along the north and south branches of the Saskatchewan, I penetrated three hundred miles into the interior of the forests and plains westward by the Athabasca. I have visited at different epochs the Kootenays at the north and the Shoshones of the south." The earliest record at hand of his wandering in the Dakotas was in 1848. In making his way back to St. Louis from west of the Rockies he visited some of the tribes on the Missouri River. In the year 1849 he made an extended visit to the Indians of the upper Missouri, visiting and preaching to the Poncas and extending his mission to Fort Pierre, at the mouth of the Teton, where he spent considerable time. He also visited the Brule Sioux at Fort Bouis, near the Great Bend in the Missouri. He seems to have been much discouraged with the fruits of this year's labors, and writes thus to his co-workers: "These inhabitants of the desert offer little encouragement to the missionary. I trust and hope with the course of another year something may be done for these degraded Indians so long left without the aid of religion." In 1850 he took passage on the American Fur Company's steamer, St. Ange, for the mouth of the Yellowstone and was aboard when the cholera broke out among passengers and crew and was himself ill of the disease. His missionary companion, Father Haecken, fell a victim to the scourge and was buried at the mouth of the Little Sioux. The St. Ange halted at Fort Bouis, opposite the Big Bend in the Missouri. Smallpox was then raging among the Brule Sioux. Father DeSmet went ashore and spent the night ministering to the dying Indians. At Fort Pierre, among the Arickaras at Grand River and at Fort Union, at the mouth of the Yellowstone, he was equally active. In 1851 he made a pilgrimage as far as the Yellowstone and journeyed along the foot hills to the Black Hills and to Fort Laramie, and was present at the great council between the United States com-



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missioners and the representatives of all the bands of the surrounding Indians. He made many other journeys among the Dakotas during subsequent years. In 1858, by request of General Harney, then commander of the Department of Oregon, he was made chaplain in the United States army, but declined government recompense. In this capacity he rendered valuable service to the government in its dealings with the Indian tribes of the Pacific. He was often during the many years of his ministry a mediator between the savages and the government. In most of the treaties made with the upper Missouri Indians he exerted great influence in bringing about an understanding. During his ministry of about half a century he traversed and retraversed the land from the Missouri River to the Pacific ocean, and lived in the most friendly intercourse with almost every wild tribe, whether hostile or friendly. Like the apostles of old, he went without money, without weapon or guard. He took with him only his divine commission to teach and to preach. With the cross and sacrament he heralded the gospel to the remotest bands. The hostile and the friendly received him alike. He preached to them, taught them and baptised them. He learned their dialects, probed their secrets and touched the mainspring of their affections. When in sorrow, he comforted them; when in distress he was their advisor and guide; when wrong or when wronged, he was their faithful, honest ally and friend. Notwithstanding his affectionate relations with them, in estimating the influence of Father DeSmet upon the Indian character, it may well be questioned whether the permanent effects were commensurate with his industry and labor. Father DeSmet met the Indians as savages and adjusted himself to their savage state, baptized and received them into his church, and pressed on with his evangel to new fields. Much of the good seed sown by him seemed to have been sown to the waste, but little character changing and character building being the results of his mission. In contrasting the results of his labors with his great and earnest contemporary Indian missionaries, Dr. Riggs and Dr. Williamson, the editor may be excused for observing that he has found no record of such Christian red men among the converts of Father DeSmet as Paul Mazakutamane, John Other Day, Greyfoot and others. Under the guidance and tutelage of these Godly men, there are many examples among the Indians to whom they ministered, of transformation from savages into subdued Christian characters, honest, upright and faithful. The missionary enthusiasm of all these sacrificing souls was equally great. Their methods, however, varied and the results obtained differ. Though many years have passed since Father DeSmet's ministry came to an end among them, many of the older Indians and earlier white residents of the Dakotas remember him and speak of him with affection.

[66]**Fort Meade**—Fort Meade was first garrisoned as a United States military fort in August, 1878. It was named in honor of General Geo. G. Meade, the commander of the federal forces at the battle of Gettysburg. It is situated in Meade county, South Dakota, a short distance

outside of the foot hills of the Black Hills, and near Bear Buttes. Prior to its establishment as a military post it was known as Camp Sturgis, the name of a gallant lieutenant who fell with Custer. It had been a military camp since August, 1876, when General Sheridan ordered troops to that region to escort away the intruding miners. The buildings of the post were in the course of construction from August, 1878, until August, 1879. Other buildings, such as the hospital, were subsequently erected. In December, 1878, a military reservation containing about twelve square miles, was attached to it. New improvements have from time to time been made at Fort Meade, and lately the government has signified its intention to make it one of the permanent military posts of the country.

[66-2]**Ferdinand V. Hayden, M. D.,** for many years attached to the corps of geological and geographical surveyors of the United States, was a native of Massachusetts. He was born December 22, 1829, and died in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, December 22, 1887. During his career he became one of the most learned geologists the country has produced, and one of the more prolific writers on this and kindred topics. His college studies were pursued at Oberlin, Ohio, where he graduated in the class of 1850. In 1853 he received the degree of doctor of medicine from Albany Medical College, New York. Dr. Hayden was professor of geology and mineralogy in the University of Pennsylvania from 1865 until 1872. In 1859 he became connected with the geological and geographical surveys of the United States and continued in this service until 1886, a year prior to his death. He was the author of the first eight reports (1867-1876) of the United States geological survey of territories, of sketches of origin and progress of the United States geological and geographical surveys of territories (1877), including the Yellowstone National Park and mountainous regions of Idaho, Nevada, Colorado and Utah. Dr. Hayden made his first visit to Dakota in 1859, when he came up the river to Fort Pierre with the expedition of Captain W. F. Reynolds, and thence went west through the northern Black Hills to the Yellowstone. In 1866 he examined the Bad Lands on White River. His Dakota work is described in a memoir published by the American Philosophical Society in 1861 and in the report of the geological survey for 1870.

[68]**Fort Berthold**—Fort Berthold of the date referred to by the author, like most of the frontier posts or forts, began an existence during the fur trading epoch. The first Fort Berthold was built by the American Fur Company in 1845 and was named in honor of Berthold, a trader from St. Louis, Missouri. It was a stockaded post, quadrilateral in shape, and was located on the north (east) bank of the Missouri River in what is now McLean county, North Dakota. In 1859 an opposition fur company built a post near Fort Berthold, but somewhat farther back from the river, which they called Fort Atkinson in honor of General Atkinson of the United States army. The two posts continued operating in the Indian trade until 1862, when the American Fur Company purchased

Fort Atkinson and business of the opposition company. The American Fur Company then abandoned the old post and occupied Fort Atkinson, and renamed it Fort Berthold. In 1868 the hostile Sioux made a determined attack upon Fort Berthold, and during the assault almost completely destroyed the old stockade and fort. Two or three buildings and a small portion of the stockade were left. Since that time the site of the old fort has been cut away by the current of the Missouri. Fort Berthold was first occupied as a military post in 1864 by a company of cavalry, then a part of the command of General Sully, in his expedition against the Sioux. The fort and site were occupied jointly by a garrison of United States troops and the fur trading company until 1867, when Fort Stevenson was built a few miles farther down the river. Fort Berthold was then abandoned by the military. It was subsequently occupied by the United States Indian agent. In 1874 it was partially destroyed by fire. The present Indian agency known as Fort Berthold is about two miles from the site of the old forts. It is the present home and agency of the Mandan, Arickara and Gros Ventre (Minnetaree) Indians.

[69]**Governor Faulk**—Andrew J. Faulk was the third governor of Dakota Territory and served from 1866 to 1869. He was born at Milford, Pike county, Pennsylvania, November 26, 1814. Early in life he removed with his parents to Kittanning, Pennsylvania, where he received his education. He learned the printing trade and when quite young became editor of the Armstrong County Democrat. In politics he was an ardent Democrat, but abandoned his party on account of the slave question and supported Fremont in 1856 and Lincoln in 1860. In 1861 President Lincoln appointed him Indian trader at the Yankton agency, Dakota. He served as trader until 1864, when he returned to Kittanning. He returned to Dakota in 1866 as governor of the Territory, being appointed to this office by President Johnson. Governor Faulk was one of our ablest early executives. In the just and judicious management of the Indian tribes of the Dakota frontier he was a worthy follower of his predecessor. While governor, in the capacity of ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs, he served with much credit on peace commissions among the Indians. During the excitement incident to the discovery of gold in the Black Hills he was among the active and most useful workers to bring about an agreement with the Indians by which the government came into possession of that region. During his life he held several important offices other than governor. Among them was clerk of the federal and territorial court. He was, from the time of his appointment as governor until his death, which occurred at Yankton, September 5, 1898, an honored and highly respected citizen of Yankton.

[70]**Treaty of 1868 and Result**—It is doubtful whether any large number of the Indians were opposed to the treaty of 1868. The fact that many were not present to sign the treaty hardly amounted to opposition to its stipulations. This treaty was distinctly an advantageous one for the Indians and amounted to a retreat on the part of the government.

About all of the demands of the Indians were granted in minor points, and the Montana road, with the forts established along it, was abandoned. The United States commissioners were Generals Sherman, Harney, Terry and Augur. (For full text of this treaty see Appendix "C.")

Three months after the proclamation of this treaty the war department issued the following order: "All Indians, when on their proper reservations, or under the exclusive control and jurisdiction of their agents, they will not be interfered with in any manner by the military authority, except upon requisition of a special agent, resident with them, his superintendent or bureau of Indian affairs at Washington. Outside of the well defined limits of their reservations they are under the original and exclusive control of the military, and as such will be considered hostile." It is easily observed that the terms of the above order were in violation of the provisions of the treaty, which permitted the Indians to roam and hunt wherever they chose on the unceded lands. The order, however, was rigidly enforced and Indians chastized for disobedience. This was the beginning of a series of violations of the treaty by the government which finally culminated in the great Sioux outbreak which lasted from 1875 until 1881. When the treaty of 1868 was made the country fixed for the Indians as their permanent and exclusive home was considered of little value. Soon the settlers began to press closely along its borders and the discovery of gold in the Black Hills created a determination of the whites to obtain possession. All the country included in the Black Hills was a part of the great Sioux reservation. As early as 1873 parties of miners began to steal into this territory in search of gold. Though the Indians became irritated at these numerous expeditions, the govermental expedition under General Custer in the summer of 1874 incensed them beyond endurance. The Black Hills was indisputable Indian territory and the expedition under General Custer was in direct violation of the terms of 1868. Depredations by the Indians and encroachments by the whites continued. The Northern Pacific Railway, in violation of the treaty, changed its line from the north to the south side of the Yellowstone River. In 1875 a commission was appointed to negotiate with the Indians for the sale of the Black Hills. Many of the Indians refused to come to the council, among them being Chiefs Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull, Gall and their powerful following. Then was inaugurated the campaigns which resulted in the defeat of the United States troops under General Crook at the battle of the Rosebud and General Custer on the Little Big Horn. The last remnant of these hostiles surrendered with Sitting Bull in 1881. (See notes on Sitting Bull.)

[71]**Governor Burbank**—John A. Burbank, governor from 1869 to 1874, was the fourth executive of Dakota Territory. He was a native of Indiana and received his appointment from President Grant. Prior to his appointment as governor he had been a successful merchant, a pioneer of the state of Nebraska, and at the time of his selection was actively interested in the organization of Wyoming Territory. He arrived in Dakota in 1869 and soon identified himself with the fortunes of the young Terri-

Gov. Louis K. Church

tory. Yankton became his home. In due time he became a member of the firm of J. R. Hanson & Co., owners of large holdings of real estate. Much of the history of the administration of Governor Burbank is not of a character to inspire the Dakotan with pride. Throughout almost the entire period of his term of office there was an unusually bitter and disgraceful political and sectional brawl, which originated within the ranks of his own party. The open rupture occured at the Republican convention of 1870, which resulted in two candidates for congress from the opposing factions. As a result Moses K. Armstrong, the Democratic nominee, was elected a delegate at the election that followed and again in 1872, Mr. Armstrong was elected delegate over the two aspirants of the Republican factions. This state of political and sectional bitterness became so intense as to become responsible for the murder of General Edwin McCook, secretary of the Territory, by Peter P. Wintermute, an adherent of the opposing faction. During this period of sectional folly among the leading citizens, Governor Burbank seems to have acted wisely and with considerable credit as a chief executive of the Territory. Under more favorable conditions the narration of the events of his four years of official service would doubtless make a more agreeable chapter in Dakota history. General Burbank was born in Centerville, Indiana, in 1827, and is still alive and resides at Richmond, Indiana.

W. H. H. Beadle—General W. H. H. Beadle, president of the South Dakota State Normal School at Madison, became a citizen of Dakota in April, 1869. He was born in Parke county, Indiana, January 1, 1838, and spent his boyhood on a farm. He entered the classical department of Michigan University in 1857 and graduated from this institution June 26, 1861. Soon thereafter he entered the union army and was made first lieutenant and afterwards captain in the Thirty-first Indiana regiment. Subsequently he was made a lieutenant colonel and was in command of the First Michigan, a regiment of sharp-shooters. He was made a brigadier general for gallant and meritorious services in March, 1865, and was mustered out of service in March, 1866. The University of Michigan conferred upon him the degrees of A. B., A. M. and LL. B., to which was added, June, 1902, the honorary degree of LL. D. Since coming to Dakota, General Beadle has almost continuously held positions of responsibility and trust. For a number of years he was United States surveyor general of the Territory, and subsequently was for six years territorial superintendent of public instruction. In 1877 he was secretary of the commission that codified the laws of the Territory and a member of the legislative body of that year. In 1889 he became the president of the State Normal School at Madison, which position he now holds. General Beadle has contributed long and faithful service to the cause of education in Dakota.

[73]**Fort Pembina**—The Fort Pembina referred to in the text was a United States government military fort. It was located on the north side of the Pembina River, near its mouth, and was built in 1870 to 1872. At the time the United States engineers established this post and surveyed

the military reservation upon which it stood, they found that the international boundary line as indicated by Major Long in 1823 was about one mile too far south. This fact led to the selection of an international boundary commission, which ran the line from the Lake of the Woods to a point in the Rocky Mountains. The labors of this joint commission of the United States and Canadian experts was finished in 1876. The 49° north latitude was found to cross the Red River at the point indicated by the engineers in charge of the survey of Fort Pembina military reservation in 1870. This shifted the boundary line of the United States about a mile farther north. With the exception of three or four houses the old town of Pembina was on the United States side of the line. There was another Fort Paubnia or Pembina, which was located on the south side of the Pembina River, a short distance from its mouth. This was the original Fort Pembina, the one built by Chaboillez, the French fur trader, in 1797, and occupied by him until 1799. and then abandoned. In the fall of 1800 and the early part 1801, Alexander Henry, the younger, built a post on the north side of the Pembina, almost opposite the post built by Chaboillez. This was the Northwest Fur Company's post, or fort, or the Pembina post. Peter Grant's Northwest Fur Company's post, or fort, was on the Minnesota side of the Red River, at about the site of the present town of St. Vincent. The exact date is not very clear, though this post must have been built in the early '90s, probably 1792. The Selkirk settlers also built a fort and made a settlement on the wooded valley of the Pembina River in the fall of 1812, which they called Fort Daer in honor of their benefactor, Baron Daer and Earl of Selkirk. This fort was located on the north side of the Pembina at the site of the present town of Pembina, North Dakota.

[74]**Norman W. Kittson**—Norman W. Kittson, a Canadian by birth, was born in 1814. He was a nephew of Alexander Henry, the elder, who made many tours of exploration in the northwest from 1764 to 1776 and wrote an account of his wanderings. At an early age Mr. Kittson went into the employ of the Northwest Fur Company. His first station in the fur trade was on the Fox River, Wisconsin. From 1834 to 1838 he was a sutler at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. He again entered the employ of the Northwest Fur Company in 1843, and was stationed at Pembina, North Dakota. Here he remained until about 1858. From 1851 to 1855, during three successive sessions, he represented the district of Pembina in the Minnesota legislature. He was elected mayor of St. Paul in 1858, went into the employ of the Hudson Bay Company in 1860, and established a line of steamers on the Red River. This company was known as the Red River Transportation Company, headquarters at St. Paul. Mr. Kittson was one of the oldest pioneers of the state of Minnesota and was much respected. His home during the closing years of his life was at St. Paul, Minnesota.

[75]**Charles Cavalier**—Charles Cavalier, born at Springfield, Ohio, 1818, died at Pembina, North Dakota, 1902, in his eighty-fifth year. He became

a citizen of Minnesota in 1841, first at Red Rock, six miles south of St. Paul, and removed to the latter place in 1845. His residence was in St. Paul until 1851. During this time he had been in active business and had served as territorial librarian. In October, 1850, he was appointed collector of customs for Minnesota, and in 1851 took up his residence at Pembina post. After a service of four years as customs officer he engaged in the fur trade at St. Joseph, now Walhalla, and Fort Garry, where Winnipeg now stands. In 1864 he returned to Pembina as postmaster. This office he held until 1885, when he resigned in favor of his son. He was a partner with Kittson, Forbes & Farrington in the fur trade in 1853. He held the office of treasurer and probate judge of Pembina county and was mayor of Pembina several terms. Mr. Cavalier was one of the earliest white settlers in Dakota Territory.

[76]**The Bison**—The number of bison or buffalo now on the American continent is estimated to be less than a thousand. But one herd in the wild state is known to exist. This one, which numbers less than a hundred head, roams about the northern Rockies in the British possessions. The largest domesticated herd is owned by James Philip, of Fort Pierre, South Dakota. They number about seventy head and are confined in a spacious pasture which extends from the Missouri River westward upon the high plateau. A substantial wire fence surrounds their grazing field. This herd is distinctly a Dakota product and its history is interesting. In 1883 Mr. Frederick Du Pree, the old fur trader, and his sons, when on a hunt, captured five calves. These they reared and domesticated. From them came the herd of forty which he had at the time of his death a few years past. They then came into the ownership of Mr. Philip, who is carefully preserving and increasing the number. It is his object to make his range near Fort Pierre a permanent buffalo park.

[77]**Governor John L. Pennington**—John L. Pennington, a native of North Carolina, was governor of Dakota Territory from January, 1874, to May, 1878. In his younger days he was a printer and a publisher by profession. In politics he was a union Democrat and so remained during the long and trying ordeal of civil war. He published a paper at Raleigh, North Carolina, during the war and up to 1866, when he removed to Alabama and settled on a farm. In 1868 he was elected state senator from Alabama and served his district in this capacity until 1873. In this year he was appointed governor of Dakota Territory by General Grant and took up his residence at Yankton, early in 1874. After the ending of his term as governor, in 1878, he was chosen collector of internal revenue for the district of Dakota, which office he held until the consolidation of the Dakota and Nebraska districts in 1879. Ex-Governor Pennington remained a resident of Yankton until 1891, where he held property interests. The last ten years of his life he lived among his old acquaintances in the south. Governor Pennington ranks among the able, upright and conscientious territorial governors. He possesses many of the qualities that make men popular. He was considered able and

honest, polite and considerate, liberal and helpful, and at the same time fearless in the discharge of his duties. Governor Pennington died at Anniston, Alabama, July 9, 1900.

[78]**General George Armstrong Custer**—This renowned and picturesque warrior was born in Ohio, December 5, 1839, and died at the battle of the Little Big Horn in Montana, June 25, 1876. He was the son of a farmer, a graduate of West Point, a first lieutenant, a brigadier general and then a major general of volunteers before he had attained the age of twenty-six. By the time the civil war closed he was the most trusted subordinate commander under the greatest cavalry leader in history—General Sheridan. Soon after his graduation at West Point, in 1861, he was assigned to duty as a lieutenant. He was at the battle of Bull Run and several other engagements, and finally led his first brigade of cavalry at the battle of Gettysburg. In 1864 he was made a major general and a division commander of volunteers. In this capacity he took part in the campaigns in the valley of the Shenandoah and about Richmond in 1864 and 1865. He was mustered out of the volunteer service in May, 1866, and appointed a lieutenant colonel and brevet major general in the regular service. The remainder of his military service was on the frontier and, with the exception of one campaign against the southern Cheyennes and Arapahoes, his operations were among the Sioux and other tribes of the northwest. He first came to the northwest in 1873, in the capacity of commanding the escort of troops who conducted the engineers and surveyors of the Northern Pacific along the Yellowstone Valley and into the mountains. In the summer of 1874 he led a government exploring expedition into the Black Hills. The whole season was spent in examination of this, up to that time, almost unknown region. Subsequently he made an accurate and glowing report on its resources and characteristics. His main camp was named Custer and was on the site of the present city of Custer, South Dakota. In June, 1876, he was in command of the cavalry division of General Terry's column in the campaign against the hostile Sioux and Cheyennes under Crazy Horse, Gall and Sitting Bull. He was given permission by General Terry to lead the advance against the Indian stronghold. With his usual vigor and dispatch he pushed forward with his command of 775 officers and men and came upon the hostile camp in the valley of the Little Big Horn River on June 25th. Dividing his forces into the three commands under Benton, Reno and himself, he ordered an assault which resulted in the defeat of the troops under Reno and Benton and the total annihilation of his own troops, himself being among the slain. But two living creatures escaped, Curly, the Crow scout, and Comanche, a cavalry pony. The brave and friendly Crow found his way to the supporting columns. Two days after the battle Comanche was found standing in a ravine so badly wounded that he could not move. He was taken to Fort Lincoln and tenderly cared for until his recovery. Comanche was ridden in the battle by Captain Keogh. He was taken to Fort Meade, South Dakota, in 1879, and remained there

until 1888. He was then removed to Fort Riley, Kansas, where he died, and received a military burial.

[79]**William F. McKay**—William F. McKay, the man who accompanied General Custer as a gold expert in his tour of the Black Hills in 1874, and known on the Missouri frontier as Billy McKay, was one of the early settlers along the Missouri River about Fort Randall. He gained notoriety as a leader of a vigilante committee who were supposed to have hung a young German named Burckman and a partner in 1871. Horse stealing had become prevalent along the Missouri. At first the Yankton and Ponca Indians were accused of being the perpetrators, but farther investigation revealed the fact that the Indians were also suffering the loss of stock. A notorious character, named Bennett, was noticed to stop at the young German's ranch, on Pratt Creek, near Fort Thompson. The German had a young wife, the only white woman in the region. One morning the mail carrier between Fort Thompson and Yankton found two men hanging to the telegraph pole near the roadside. One was the young German, the other supposed to be a partner of Bennett. The stage driver took the young wife of the German to Yankton. Warrants were issued for W. F. McKay, Joseph Somers and others. These parties were put under arrest and brought to Yankton, but the case was dismissed and the prisoners returned to Bon Homme county. Billy McKay was elected to the Dakota legislature in 1874. As a means of coercion by the majority in the legislature he was arrested on the old charge and confined in jail. Colonel Moody, the speaker, permitted him to take his seat daily under the escort of an officer. Soon thereafter he removed to Bismarck. He kept a diary of his observations while in the Hills.

[80]See Appendix "C," Treaty of 1868, this volume.

[81]**General Sheridan**—Phillip H. Sheridan, born at Albany, New York, 1831, died at Chicago, Illinois, August 5, 1888. This most renowned of all cavalry leaders was graduated from West Point military academy in 1853 and had attained the rank of captain at the outbreak of the civil war; was quartermaster under General Halleck in the Corinth campaign. He became colonel and brigadier general of cavalry in 1862, and division commander at the battle of Perryville and Murfreesboro. In January, 1863, he was made a major general of volunteers and fought with great bravery and desperation at the battle of Chickamauga. At the battle of Missionary Ridge he was in command of an assaulting column that did splendid execution. In 1864 he was made the commander of the cavalry corps of the army of the Potomac, and fought with great skill and gallantry at the battle of the Wilderness. Soon after he was made commander of the middle military division and defeated Generals Stewart and Early,and drove the confederate army from the valley of the Shanandoah. He was made a brigadier general in the regular army early in the year 1864 and a major general in October of the same year. General Sheridan conducted a successful raid against

the confederate forces from Winchester to Petersburg and finally defeated them at Five Forks and in other engagements, and was present at the final closing scenes at Appomattox; commanded the military department of the gulf, 1865-7; department of Missouri 1867; was made lieutenant general in 1869. He visited Europe in 1870 and was a witness to the conduct of the Franco-Prussian war. In 1883 he succeeded General Sherman as general-in-chief of the United States army. Congress created him full general in 1888. General Sheridan published his memories in 1888. He was regarded by military experts as the greatest cavalry leader in history.

[82]**Alfred H. Terry,** a lawyer by profession, and a colonel of militia, won fame during the civil war and became major general in the United States army. He was a native of Connecticut, born at Hartford, November, 1827, and died at New Haven December, 1900. He was graduated from Yale law school, and was colonel of militia in his native state in 1854. When the call for volunteers was made he was made colonel of a regiment, mustered for active service and led his regiment at the battles of Bull Run, Port Royal and the siege of Fort Pulaski in the year 1861. In 1862 he was made a brigadier general and operated against Charleston; took part in the campaigns of 1863, and in 1864 was made major general of volunteers. In 1865 he served under General Sherman as corps commander at the capture of Wilmington, South Carolina. His greatest military exploit was his daring capture of Fort Fisher by assault. In 1876 he was department commander of the Missouri and was senior officer in charge of the expedition against the great war chiefs Crazy Horse and Gall, who, with Sitting Bull, fought the column under General Custer at the battle of the Little Big Horn and the column under Crook at the battle of the Rosebud. General Terry was a member of many of the more important commissions in the negotiations between the United States and the Indians of the northwest and was well and favorably known to many of the tribes. He served as a member of the United States commission sent to treat for the purchase of the Black Hills. His knowledge of law and long acquaintance with the Indians made him an invaluable member in the capacity of commissioner. He attained the rank of major general in the regular army in 1886, and retired from active service in 1888.

[83]**Sintegle'ska (Spotted Tail)**—From the standpoint of civilized opinion Sintegle'ska, or Spotted Tail, in many respects was one of the greatest red men of the past century. In their reference to him in the quotation used by the author, the miners were strangely ignorant of the disposition and intentions of Spotted Tail, for, of all the chiefs of the Sioux, he was least likely to deal harshly with them for their flagrant infringement upon the rights of his people. During that turbulent and exciting period of first occupancy of the Black Hills by the whites, Spotted Tail proved himself a reliable friend to the government and a judicious advisor of his own race. The position taken by him as chief of the

Brule Sioux did much to bring the ebb-tide of a general hostile movement among the Indians. His fine intelligence, rare tact and courageous leadership had much weight in limiting the influence of the more hostile chiefs and securing for the Sioux nation the best possible terms from the commission for the relinquishment of the Indians' claim to the coveted region. Spotted Tail belonged to the Brule band of the Teton Sioux. He was not an hereditary chief, but rose to the chiefship from the ranks. When a boy nineteen years of age he is said to have accepted a challenge to a duel with a sub-chief of the band, and a long and bloody encounter with knives occurred, in which the chief was killed. This affair, with other deeds of prowess, brought Spotted Tail into general prominence in his band, and upon the death of the hereditary chief, he was made his successor. He became a much beloved leader of his band and a power among all the branches of his Dakota kinsmen. The increase of his power and the number of his adherents brought upon him the enmity of other chiefs. In an encounter over differences which occurred at the Whetstone agency, in 1869, Big Mouth, an Ogallala chief, was killed by Spotted Tail. In 1870, together with Red Cloud and other chiefs, he visited Washington, D. C., and other eastern points. The trip seemed to impress him with the helplessness of his race in its contention with the whites, and, though he argued the justice of their position, he felt that any warfare against the government was useless and would always end in final defeat and greater suffering for the Indian. In 1876 General Crook, then commander of the department of the Platte, wished to create, if possible, a head ruler of all the Sioux nation, whom they would respect and in a measure obey. The choice fell to Spotted Tail, who, with due ceremony, was named the head chief of all the Sioux. In the war which followed he opposed Crazy Horse, Gall, Sitting Bull and other turbulent chiefs and was instrumental in preventing large numbers of his kinsmen from joining the hostiles. In the mid-winter of 1876 he made a long tour to the camp of his hostile nephew, Crazy Horse, on the Powder River, and finally prevailed upon him to abandon the warpath and come to the agency. Spotted Tail met a violent death in the fall of 1881 at Rosebud agency. The assassin was Crow Dog, a sub-chief of the Ogallalas, who shot and instantly killed him. The incentive to the murder was said to have been domestic jealousy. In an impartial review of the life of Spotted Tail it must be borne in mind that his biographers are white men and he has been considered from the standpoint of an influential and friendly chief of a large band of Sioux. It cannot be said that his positions were always popular with the larger body of his kinsmen, nor even with a majority of his own band. As an instance, Spotted Tail favored the treaty made at Fort Sully in 1865, which gave the government permission to construct what is known as the Montana road from Fort Laramie to Boseman, Montana, which was very unpopular with his own band of Brules and was ignored by almost the entire Teton Sioux. At this crisis many of his own band deserted to the standard of Red Cloud who, with great

bravery and success, both in battle and council, contended for the wishes and undoubtedly for the best interests of the Sioux nation. As a result of the struggle, Red Cloud and his followers came off victors. The Montana road and the forts established along it were abandoned by the government, the rights of the Sioux recognized and their demands acceded to in the agreement known as the treaty of 1868. Though disproved by the valuable service rendered by him at the treaty making of 1868, Spotted Tail did not escape the accusation by the Sioux that he favored the wishes of the whites because of personal gain. It may, however, be truly said of this remarkable red man that he was certainly possessed of many qualities of a high order. As an orator, diplomat and acute and logical reasoner, few Indians have excelled him. He is said to have been dignified and commanding and, for one of his race, was possessed of mature judgment and great kindness of heart. Of the friendly and progressive chiefs he justly ranks among the highest of the epoch in which he lived. With the probable exception of his great Ogallala contemporary, Red Cloud, whose claims to that distinction are probably greater, Spotted Tail's career is more conspicuous for conscientious and intelligent loyalty and devotion to what he considered the interests of his people than any other contemporary Sioux chieftain. I append a military opinion of him, and although the writer appears to have drawn a rather extravagant picture of his hero, yet it is worthy of note that the author was a military officer of repute and wrote what he did after a long and intimate acquaintance with Spotted Tail. In his book, "On the Borders With General Crook," Captain Bourke says: "This is unfortunately not the age of monument building in America. If ever the time shall come when loyal and intelligent friendship for the American people shall receive due recognition, the strong, melancholy features of Sintegle'ska, or Spotted Tail, cast in enduring bronze, will overlook the broad area of Dakota and Nebraska, which his genius did so much to save to civilization. In youth a warrior of distinction, in middle age a leader among his people, he became, ere time had sprinkled his locks with snow, the benefactor of two races. A diplomatist, able to hold his own with the astutest agents the great father could depute to confer with him, Spotted Tail recognized the inevitable destruction of his kinsmen if they persisted in war and turned their backs on overtures of peace. He exerted himself, and generally with success, to obtain the best terms possible from the government in all conferences held with its representatives, but he was equally earnest in his determination to restrain the members of his own band, and others whom he could control, from going upon the warpath. If they persisted in going, they went to stay; he would not allow them to return. Had his great influence been with the hostiles, I still think (1891) neither North nor South Dakota, Wyoming nor Montana might now be on the map of states. We found Spotted Tail a man of great dignity, but at all moments easy and affable in manner; not hard to please, sharp as a brier, and extremely witty. His conversational powers were of a high order; his views care-

fully formed, clearly expressed. My personal relations with him were extremely friendly, and I felt free to say that Spotted Tail was one of the great men of this century, bar none, red, white, black or yellow. When Crow Dog murdered him the Dakota nation had good reason to mourn the loss of a noble son."

Charles P. Jordan, for many years an Indian trader among the Sioux, and now trader at the Rosebud agency, after long and intimate acquaintance with Spotted Tail, writes the following: "Spotted Tail was an exceptionally magnetic and able orator, and I doubt if ever a commission or government official had to contend with a more shrewd Indian. He had a habit of propounding wise questions and advancing arguments that often puzzled them to answer to his and their satisfaction."

The remains of Spotted Tail are interred at Rosebud agency grave yard, and the hope entertained by Captain Bourke, that a monument should be erected to his memory, is in part at least realized.

The admiration of Mr. Jordan for this great red man has found active expression in the erection of an appropriate epitaph at his grave and the surrounding of it with a substantial fence of iron and stone.

[84]**General George Crook**—This able military leader was born near Dayton, Ohio, September 2, 1828, and died at Chicago, March 1, 1890. Graduating at West Point in the class of 1852, he served continuously from that time, attaining the rank of major general in the regular army in 1888. He was colonel of a volunteer regiment in 1861, and took part in many hard fought battles, and was made a brevet major general in 1864. General Crook was in command of the cavalry of the army of the Potomac from March 26 until April 9, 1865. He fought with Sheridan and was one of the most trusted lieutenants through all the battles in the Shenandoah Valley and around Richmond, and was present at the surrender of Lee's army. He was mustered out of the volunteer service in 1866. After the war he was almost continuously on the frontier and did valuable service in Arizona and New Mexico. Later he was commander of the department of the Platte. In 1875 he was in command of troops sent to the Black Hills to arrest and conduct out the miners who had forced their way into this region in search of gold. In 1876 he was in command of one of the columns of United States troops sent against the hostile Sioux and Cheyennes under Crazy Horse and Gall and fought the battle of the Rosebud June 17, 1876, when he was obliged to retire. After the massacre of General Custer and his troops, Crook again fought Crazy Horse and his warriors near Slim Buttes, Montana, where the Indians were defeated.

In 1886 he conducted a campaign against Geronimo, the famous Apache chief, whom he brought to bay, but resigned before hostilities had terminated. He was again assigned to a command against Geronimo, who surrendered to him. After his promotion to major general in the regular army in 1888, he was made commander of the department of Missouri, with headquarters at Chicago. In 1889 he was made a member of the Sioux commission that, during that season, negotiated the sale of 1,100,000 acres of the great Sioux reservation between the White and Big

Cheyenne rivers in South Dakota. He died suddenly at the headquarters of his department at Chicago, not long after this service was completed. General Crook was considered by General Sherman to be the greatest Indian fighter and manager the American army ever produced. The Indians feared and trusted him. He was a persistent, vigorous fighter, but humane and magnanimous to the vanquished, and gained the confidence of the Indians for his mild and generous treatment of them in peace.

[85]**Cheyenne Indians**—An offshoot of the great Algonkin linguistic family of Indians, who more than a century and a half ago forced their way westward between the bands of the Dakota Sioux as far as the Missouri River. Subsequently they pushed still farther west to the Black Hills and into Wyoming. Their traditional history indicates that they were among the westernmost branches of the Algonkins, and lived somewhere about the headwaters of the Mississippi. They say that long ago their ancestors lived upon the shores of a great lake, where there was much timber, and along a large river where there was a great fall. The great lake was probably Lake Superior, the large river the Mississippi, and the falls St. Anthony. The residence of the Cheyennes on the Mississippi seems to have been long established and their villages permanent. Their peaceful occupation, they affirm, was agriculture. The pressure of the white man from the east gradually forced their eastern neighbors westward, and they in turn were forced to begin a migratory and aimless drift on the great buffalo plains to the west and north. With reasonable historic evidence to support it, they halted on the Shian or Sheyenne River in North Dakota. This stream is the main western tributary of the Red River of the North, and courses from west to east across much of the state of North Dakota. For a time they seemed to have endeavored to establish themselves permanently here. Old fortifications near the town of Valley City, North Dakota, which the surrounding tribes say were built by them, together with the grim relics of the result of a great struggle for their possession, were in existence within the historic period. Whether this is the exact location of their last stand in their new possessions or not, they certainly lived upon the Sheyenne of the north, and were finally driven from their homes by the Saulteurs, a powerful and warlike tribe which roamed along the Red River and about the head of Lake Winnipeg. The time that this final battle for possession occurred is not quite clear. Alexander Henry says the Saulteurs informed him that they severely defeated the Cheyennes in a great battle about 1740, after which the latter tribe abandoned the country, going westward. The Cheyennes of the present day give the time of their crossing the Missouri River at about 1690. In 1800, sixty years after the date given by the Saulteurs, both they and their neighbors, the Assiniboines, called the river the Shian or Sheyenne. For some time after the Cheyennes reached the valley of the Missouri they lived on its east bank, and finally crossed at about the mouth of the Big Cheyenne River, South Dakota. As their numbers increased they pushed westward into the territory of the Crows, whom they re-

peatedly defeated and eventually drove from the region of the Black Hills. In their gradual westward movement they forced the Crows from the country about the headwaters of the Little Missouri, Powder, Tongue and Rosebud rivers. They attacked the Kiowas and Apaches, who lived to the southward, whom they compelled to take refuge in the country of the Pawnees, and finally to take shelter under the protection of the powerful Comanches in the far south. Before the Cheyennes had reached the Missouri River in their westward migration, they were joined by the Aarapahoes, also a branch of the Algonkin family. The two bands remained together, practically as one community, until they reached the country of the Black Hills, where they separated. Subsequently they were on friendly terms and frequently joined in offensive and defensive warfare against their enemies. For many years the Cheyennes were at war with the trans-Missouri River Sioux. But after many relapses and broken pledges, peace was made between them, which was never broken excepting in one instance. A fierce battle was fought with the Teton Sioux about the time the Cheyennes came into possession of firearms, which resulted in the defeat of the Sioux. About 1830 a division of the Cheyennes occurred on account of a wish on the part of a portion of the tribe to follow the fur traders. One division migrated to the valleys of the Platte and Arkansas rivers and became known as the Southern Cheyennes. That portion that remained in their old possessions were designated the Northern Cheyennes. Friendly intercourse continued between the two bands through frequent interchange of friendly visits.

The Cheyennes are now broken and scattered. Fragments of this once proud and powerful tribe are to be found at a number of Indian reservations of the country. The northern branch of the tribe took an active part in the Sioux-Cheyenne wars of 1875 and 1876, following the occupation of the Black Hills by the whites. The Cheyenne warriors were among the most courageous of the hostile forces. Soldiers of the United States army who fought against them universally testify to their superb deportment and bravery in battle. It is the deliberate opinion of some of the officers of the United States army who led the friendly and faced the hostile Cheyennes at the battle of the Rosebud in 1876, and other engagements, that as cavalrymen they were well nigh invincible. As a body their men are acknowledged to be superior in intellect and physique to most Indians. Their women have always been noted among the Indian tribes for their beauty and chastity.

[86]**Fort Laramie**—Fort Laramie was first established in 1834 by Robert Campbell and William Sublette, who were partners in the fur trade. The name is a familiar one in the southeast corner of Wyoming. Fort Laramie, Laramie River, Laramie Plains, Laramie Peak, and Laramie City are all on the present-day maps. The personality of the name is almost lost in the long list of historic events attached to the locality. In the early part of the past century one La Ramie, a French Canadian courieur du bois, or voyageur, penetrated the wilderness to this region. He was probably the first representative of that fraternity of wandering fur hunters who, almost without companionship or protection, tramped the

continent from the far frozen north to the southern home limits of the fur bearers. This solitary roamer was killed by the Arapahoe Indians near the headwaters of a stream that was subsequently called Laramie River. The Fort Laramie of fur trading days was built like the usual fur trading posts, i. e., quadrilateral stockade or square with dwelling places and store houses inclosed. In 1835 the first builders sold Fort Laramie to Milton Sublette and the famous Jim Bridger, who represented the American Fur Company. Very soon thereafter it became a popular trading center for the Ogallala and other western bands of the Sioux. This post was located on the west bank of the Laramie River, about one and one-half miles from its mouth. It was owned and occupied by the American Fur Company until 1849. In that year the rush for the gold fields of California began. Fort Laramie was on the great immigrant trail. It was purchased and garrisoned as a military fort by the government in 1849. It became a most important point, a half way station, as it were, on the long and tedious trail to the Pacific coast. As high as 40,000 animals and a corresponding number of vehicles crossed the Laramie River near the fort in one year. The references to Fort Laramie are numerous and interesting. Famous travelers, explorers such as Fremont, historians such as Parkman and many others refer to it frequently. Great gatherings of Indians in council and treaty making with the whites have been held at this point. Important military expeditions against the Indians have made their start from Laramie. Few names or localities in the development of the west have had a more thrilling history.

[87]**Treaty for Sale of Black Hills, 1876**—Two commissions were appointed to treat with the Indians for the relinquishment of the Black Hills, the first on June 18, 1875. This body met the different tribes of Indians who laid claim to ownership, on the White River, near Red Cloud agency, on September 20, 1875. Of the Sioux tribe the Ogallala, Minneconjou, Brule, Uncapapa, Blackfeet, Sans Arc, Yankton and Santee bands were represented. Of other tribes the Cheyennes and the Arapahoes were present. After some deliberation the Indians refused to accept the proposition of the commission. The second commission was appointed early in 1876, and in August again met the Indian representatives at Red Cloud agency. This time the negotiations proved successful. The treaty was signed September 26, 1876, by George Manypenny, Henry B. Whipple, Jared W. Daniels, Albert G. Boone and Newton Edmunds of the part of the government, and Red Cloud, American Horse, Young-Man-Afraid-of-His-Horses, Little Wound and others on the part of the Indians. The provisions of the agreement were as follows:

First—The Indians to relinquish all right and claim to any country outside the boundaries of the permanent reservation as established by the treaty of 1868.

Second—To relinquish all right and claim to so much of that said reservation as lies west of the 103d meridian of longitude.

Third—To grant right of way over the permanent reservation to that point thereof which lies west of the 103d meridian of longitude, for wagon

and other roads from convenient, accessible points on the Missouri River, not exceeding three in number.

Fourth—To receive all such supplies as are provided for by said act and said treaty of 1868 at such points and places on their said reservation and in the vicinity of the Missouri River as the president may designate.

Fifth—To enter into such agreement with the president of the United States as shall be calculated and designed to enable said Indians to become self-supporting.

The territory embraced within the cession lies between the forks of the Cheyenne River and westward to the 104th meridian of longitude. It embraced all the Black Hills and west to the Wyoming line. The consideration received by the Indians was trivial. They were to receive some extra compensation under the treaty and the annuities as provided by the treaty of 1868, but at such points on the Missouri as might be designated by the government.

[88]**Marpiya-Luta (Crimson Cloud, Red Cloud)**—In 1865, at a council held at Fort Sully, an agreement was entered into by representatives of the different bands of the Sioux, which acceded to the government the right to open an emigrant road from Fort Laramie, Wyoming, to Bozeman, Montana, and to construct military posts along the line. This road has since been known as the "Montana road." The object of its construction was to secure a short route to the rich gold fields then recently discovered in Montana. It was noticed that the treaty was conspicuous in that it had not been signed by the influential chiefs and head-men of the Sioux bands. This was particularly true of those who dwelt along the western border of the Sioux territory. The proposed road passed through the favorite hunting grounds of the Ogallalas, the largest band of western Sioux. The influential leaders of this branch of the Sioux repudiated the treaty entirely. It was evident to these leaders that the building of this road and the construction of military posts would end in final destruction of the last hunting ground of the Sioux nation. Excitement ran high among them, and a strong anti-treaty party sprang up. In 1866, when the government sent a body of military into the Powder River country to build Fort Phil Kearney, the indignation of the Sioux burst forth in open hostility. In this crisis Marpiya-Luta (Crimson Cloud, or Red Cloud) assumed the leadership and bodly defied the government and declared that while he lived and could fight, the white man should not invade the country of the Ogalallas and destroy the hunting grounds of his people. It was a popular master-stroke, and Red Cloud, until then an Ogalalla sub-chief of no great importance, became the acknowledged chieftain of his band and popular leader of the new war party among the Sioux. The fierce and fighting Ogalallas and the discontented of all bands flocked to his standard. Old Rain-in-the-Face, another influential Ogalalla chief, ably seconded Red Cloud, and, though without hereditary claim, Red Cloud found himself the undisputed leader. The hereditary chiefs were compelled to acknowledge his leadership in order that they might retain some influence over their following. Many of the Brule

Sioux deserted from their chief, Spotted Tail, and joined Red Cloud. Large numbers of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes added strength to his already formidable body of warriors. Then began a series of depredations on emigrants and engagements with the United States troops. The defeat and annihilation of Colonel Fetterman and his command near Fort Phil Kearney, the assault on Fort Buford at the mouth of the Yellowstone, and the prolonged and ferocious attack on Major Powell and his command in their attempt on Fort Phil Kearney followed swiftly under the able leadership of Red Cloud. With the exception of the attack on Major Powell's command, which was sheltered behind a fortification of iron wagon beds and had been furnished with breech-loading rifles on their first trial, Red Cloud had been successful in all his engagements with the United States troops. Every attempt on the part of the government at negotiation was met by prompt refusal, excepting upon the condition that the troops be withdrawn from the country, and the road and forts abandoned. Finally, April 29, 1868, an agreement was reached known as the treaty of 1868 (see note No. 70), which stipulated that the government withdraw all claims on the Powder River country and abandon the road and forts. In return for this concession on the part of the government, the Indians granted the Northern Pacific Railway a right to pass over their territory. Red Cloud would not sign the treaty until the United States soldiers were being withdrawn. The war ended in decided advantage to the Indians, and Marpiya-Luta was the hero. He had fully earned his right to leadership. He had proved himself to be the far-seeing diplomat, the cunning strategist, the dashing, fearless general of the Sioux. No other modern Indian has enjoyed so wide and deep confidence of all branches of the Sioux nation as has Red Cloud. Among them the region regained by the withdrawal of the government claims was known thereafter as Marpiya-Luta's, or Red Cloud's country. In after years Red Cloud firmly adhered to the terms of the treaty of 1868. He said that for many years he had been at war with the whites, but he had made a promise to the great father to remain at peace. "When I made this peace I meant it and intend to keep it." This treaty set apart for the undisputed use of the Indians all that part of Dakota south of the forty-sixth parallel and west of the Missouri River and east of the summit of the Big Horn. The southern limit was the North Platte (see note No. 70). In 1875-6, when the rush to the Black Hills gold fields began, Red Cloud protested that it was in violation of the treaty. He, however, took part in the treaty for the sale of the Black Hills and was the most influential representative of the Indians. When the treaty for their sale was consummated he opposed Crazy Horse, Gall and other rebellious chiefs in the war which followed. He became active in the support of the government at this period and used his influence in behalf of peace. Marpiya-Luta has made several trips to Washington in the interest of his people. No other modern Sioux chief has so long and so often represented his nation in council. His claim to greatness lies in his varied gifts. The dual estimate of his character by the white man and the Indian marks him as one of the great red

men of history. The government commissioners testify to his greatness as an orator and diplomat, the military to his ability as a strategist and general. The Indians recognized these qualities in him and revere him for his unselfish faithfulness to their interests. During his prime his views were unusually clear and intelligent, and his advice sound. In the excitement of the messiah craze he advised the Indians to be moderate and peaceful and declared, "If the new gospel is true it will spread all over the world; if it is not it will melt like the snow under the hot sun." Red Cloud was born in 1822 and is still living at the age of eighty years. He is almost toally blind, and is led about by his little grandson. At his house near the Pine Ridge agency his advice is still sought by many of his people.

[89]**Pi-zi** (Gall), whose name is a contraction of the Sioux word Ta-animal Pi-zi-gall, for the gall of the animal, was one of the most conspicuous as well as one of the most worthy Indian chieftains who came into general prominence during the wars of the Sioux from 1865 to 1881. Like many of the more famous red men of his time, he was not an hereditary chief, but came into prominence on account of his fitness to lead and his commanding ability as a warrior. Gall belonged to the Uncpapa band of the Tetons and was born about the year 1838. He was a young and popular sub-chief of his band during the Sioux uprising from 1865 to 1868, subsequent to the attempt of the government to establish the Fort Laramie and Bozeman road to the gold fields of Montana. Throughout this period he was a staunch supporter of the older chiefs Red Cloud and Rain-in-the-Face, and fought with daring bravery at nearly all the engagements with the forces of the government. At this date he may be truthfully named the General Hancock of the Sioux. At the assault on Fort Buford, near the mouth of the Yellowstone, in the fall of 1866, Gall led a vigorous charge against the garrison, during which he was desperately wounded and left on the field for dead. With Red Cloud he refused to sign the treaty of 1868 until the government troops were withdrawn from the Powder River country and the Montana road and Fort Kearney and other military posts along the route were abandoned. After much persuasion he was induced to come to Fort Rice to meet the peace commission of 1867. He is reported to have appeared at the council in his war attire, with his rifle across his arm. In his speech he told the commissioners that when they would take away all the soldiers and would burn Forts Rice, Buford and Kearney, and he could walk through their ashes, then he would sign the treaty. During the course of his remarks he bared the wounds in his chest, received at Fort Buford, and said to the commisssion: "This is our land and our home. We have no exact boundaries, but the graves of the Sioux nation mark our possessions. Wherever they are found the land is ours. We were born naked, and have been taught to hunt and live on the game. You tell us that we must learn to farm, live in one house, and take on your ways. Suppose the people living beyond the great sea should come and tell you that you must stop farming and kill your

cattle, and take your houses and lands, what would you do? Would you not fight them?" When the question of the sale of the Black Hills began to agitate the Sioux, Gall was still a sub-chief of the Uncpapas, but one of the more popular among all the Sioux. He was stubbornly opposed to the sale of the Hills, and with Crazy Horse and Sitting Bull declined to come to the agency to meet the commission sent by the government, and afterwards refused to recognize the treaty which relinquished the Indians' title to this coveted region. In the wars which followed, from 1876 to 1881, he rose to equal distinction with Crazy Horse as a warrior, and after the death of Black Moon, the hereditary chief of the Uncpapas, at the battle of the Little Big Horn, he was the most trusted leader of his band, though Sitting Bull, also an Uncpapa, was at the height of his power. Gall was with Crazy Horse at the battle of the Rosebud, June 17th, 1876, and ably seconded the great Indian general in the famous charge against the United States troops under General Crook. At the battle of the Little Big Horn, with his head chief, Black Moon, he seems to have led the attack against Reno which forced the latter to retreat to the bluffs for protection, and to have afterwards led the attack on the front of General Custer's position. In this battle Black Moon, together with eight other chiefs of the Sioux forces, were killed. Of the prominent Uncpapas Gall and Sitting Bull were left. Though practically without ammunition subsequent to the battle with General Custer, the Indians made a stubborn resistance to the government forces. In the winter of 1876-7 Gall led a contingent of the Indians against Colonel (now general) Otis, and a few weeks thereafter was one of the principal leaders at the defeat on the Powder River by troops under General Miles. After this chastisement about 2,000 Indians surrendered, but Gall, Sitting Bull and Pretty Bear, with a large following, retreated north of the Missouri River. They were overtaken by a portion of General Miles' command, under Lieutenant Baldwin, on the Red Water River, and suffered a severe defeat and the loss of most of their camp equipage and horses. They then retreated north of the boundary line. In 1879 Gall and a portion of his followers came south into Montana, and were opposed by United States troops under command of Captain Clark. Early in 1881 the large majority of the hostiles deserted the camp of Sitting Bull in Canada, and followed Gall as their chief to the United States. From this time he gained complete ascendency over his rival, Sitting Bull, and thereafter was considered by his people (as he truly was) the great man of the northern Sioux. But one sub-chief and 200 old men, women and children remained with Sitting Bull. Gall and all his followers finally surrendered at Poplar River, Montana, after a stubborn engagement with the Fifth and Eleventh infantry and the Seventh cavalry of the United States army. After the surrender of Gall and his followers, they were taken to Fort Buford, and from thence to Standing Rock agency, Dakota, arriving there June 1, 1881. From this time until his death he adhered to his promise to remain at peace with the government. With John Grass he became one of the judges

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of the Indian court at Standing Rock agency, and exerted great influence among all the Indian bands of that locality. In 1888, when the Sioux commission headed by Captain Pratt came to Standing Rock agency to negotiate for the cession of the Indian lands between the White and Cheyenne rivers and west of the 103° longitude, Gall was one of the number selected by the Indians to represent them at the council. At a council of the Indians to consider the proposition of the commissioners, Gall is said to have made an earnest and impartial address, in the course of which he said in part: "We should listen to the whites and learn what they have to say, and then we should without foolish speaking think what we should do. Former commissions have come among us and made many promises. They did not tell us what the great father said, but talked to please the Indians' heart. In the past I have not complained of this. I believe the great father was honest, and have acted with a good heart, but unless this treaty is fair and we are told the truth, my heart will not be good." Referring to Captain Pratt's instructions to the Indians that the chiefs did not represent them, Gall said to his followers: "I have been among you for many years. You know me as your chief, and you know me to be always true to you. Whom will you follow, the commission, whom you have never seen, or your chiefs, who have led you in battle and fought for you?" He recalled to the people the time the whites pinned him to the ground at Fort Buford and left him for dead, and asked them if they thought he was not worthy of their confidence. "They come here with two papers, and tell you we must sign one or the other, and our names will be counted. One means that we sell our lands, and one that we shall keep them. This is the first time I ever knew that any man can be made to sign a paper against his will." Speeches were also made by John Grass and others, who also opposed the sale of their lands. The following year, however, a commission, of which General Crook was a member, succeeded in overcoming the objections of Gall and John Grass, and though opposed by Sitting Bull, a large majority of the Indians followed the example of these leaders and signed the treaty. In 1890, when the messiah delusion overtook the Sioux, Gall doubted the authenticity of the story, and counseled his people to moderation and against any act displeasing to the government. In estimating the character and abilities of Gall, it is only fair to bear in mind that it is necessary to compare him with Red Cloud, Spotted Tail, Crazy Horse, Sitting Bull and others who rose to prominence in the tumult attending the last struggle of the Sioux to preserve the integrity of their tribal existence and retain the ancient customs and habits of their race. Such a crisis in the history of any people is calculated to develop those qualities that make men conspicuous, if, indeed, not great. Though probably not meeting a comparison with great men of the white race, the Indian tribes were not without their representatives whose intelligence and deeds of bravery bring them into special notice and entitle them to a position distinct from the ordinary man of any race. Chief Gall may be classed as one

of the more able representatives, as he certainly was the most picturesque Indian figure of his period. Though not possessed of the powers of oratory of Spotted Tail, Red Cloud, John Grass or Little Crow, he was superior to Sitting Bull, and his influence upon his Indian hearers was manifest whenever he addressed them. As a warrior he was certainly superior to any of them, unless it might be Red Cloud, but Red Cloud lacked his dash. Indian opinion places him equal to Crazy Horse as a general, and the Indians' estimate of an Indian is probably correct. Considering the fact that after the battle of Little Big Horn the Indians were practically without ammunition, the attack led by Gall against the forces under Colonel Otis on the Powder River and the stubborn resistance to the United States troops on the Poplar River makes one wonder what this intrepid Indian commander might have accomplished with proper military equipment and an arsenal from which to draw supplies. In personal appearance Gall was a most striking specimen of his race. It is said that he was the finest looking of all the Sioux. Mrs. General Custer, in speaking of him, said: "Painful as it is for me to look upon the pictured face of an Indian, I never in my life dreamed there could be in all the tribes so fine a specimen of a warrior as Gall." For one of his race, he is said to have been unusually pleasing and dignified in manner, and in his intercourse with the whites to have been imbued with a spirit of fairness. In his dealings with the representatives of the government he is credited with having acted with the utmost courtesy and honesty. Judging from the veneration with which his memory is held by his people, he must have been possessed of unusual kindness of heart. It is reported of him, when on a visit to Washington, he was given spending money with which to buy whatever he wished. He was afterwards asked what he saw, and what he thought of the city. He answered: "I went about your great city and saw many people. Some had fine clothes and diamonds; others were barefoot and ragged. No money to get something to eat. They are beggars, and need your help more than the Indian does. I gave them the money you gave me. All people are alike among the Indians. We feed our poor." At the tenth anniversary of the battle of the Little Big Horn, on June 25, 1886, Gall was present with the company on the old field of battle, and made an address descriptive of the scenes and incidents of the conflict. One who heard him here says he can never forget the lack of boast and the delicacy with which he guarded the feelings of his white friends in reviewing the course of a struggle in which he played a prominent part and which ended in the destruction of their friends and companions. If it cannot be said that Gall was the greatest red man of his period, it still may be justly said, all things considered, that he is the most unique and probably the most historically permanent figure among all the Dakotas. His death took place at his home on Standing Rock agency, North Dakota, about 1896.

[90]**Mato-wa-ta-Kpe (Charging Bear, or John Grass)**—Subsequent to the councils held at Standing Rock agency to consider the provisions of

the treaty of 1889, Hon. Charles Foster, chairman of the United States commission, said, "At Standing Rock we met a man whose strong sense would be conceded anywhere, and who struck me as an intellectual giant in comparison with other Indians. He is known to the white men as John Grass and to the Indians as Charging Bear, and by reason of his superior mind is the most prominent Indian on the reservation. He could not be the leader he is, however, were he not known also to be brave. His speech, in answer to the proposition we submitted to his tribe for possession of a part of their territory, was by far the ablest we heard by any chief of any following at all, addressed to us. His speech shows that he understood the treaties and acts of congress with a regard to detail beyond the grasp of most Indians." Charging Bear, or John Grass, was born on the Grand River about 1837. He was the son of the older Charging Bear, chief of the Si-ha-sa-pa, or Blackfeet band, and his mother was a daughter of the O-o'-he-no-pa or Two Kettle band of the Teton Dakota Sioux. Prior to the death of the elder Charging Bear, which took place late in the '70s, the son was looked upon by the Blackfeet as his worthy successor. Though up to this time he had acted in a subordinate position to his father, he already had gained an enviable reputation among his people for wisdom in council and for his ability as an orator. During the exciting and turbulent period among the Dakotas from 1876 to 1880, he opposed contention with the government on the ground of expediency and the best interest of his people. Though his bravery was not questioned by them, he frequently incurred the enmity of the warlike element by his able and often effectual opposition to the more hostile chiefs. Like Spotted Tail, he felt that war with the government was folly, that the Indians were not strong or numerous enough to contend with the whites, that the inevitable result would be greater suffering and hardship and, if long continued, the final defeat, if not entire annihilation, of his race. He argued that since the game was gone the Indians of necessity would be compelled to change their mode of living, and by council and peaceful measures instead of war the government would finally recognize their rights. He opposed any further dispositions of the Indian lands and advised his people to retain their remaining possessions and use them for grazing purposes, and should they determine to sell any portion of them to demand of the government a compensation equivalent to their real value. He became the leader of the peace element of the northern Sioux, and when joined by Gall and his people in 1881 his position became fixed as the leading exponent of progress among his people. In this position he was earnestly seconded by Gall, who, though differing with him in their earlier careers, was ever his life-long friend. He became the chief justice of the Indian court at Standing Rock agency, which position he still holds. In the attempt of the government in 1888 to secure the consent of the Indians to cede their lands between the White and Cheyenne rivers and east of the 103° of longitude, it was thought best to come first to Standing Rock and induce such leaders as John Grass and Gall to

agree to the terms presented by the commission, in the hope that this might favorably influence the Indians at other agencies. The Indians in their preliminary councils had chosen the chiefs John Grass, Gall, Mad Bear and Big Head to represent them before the council with the government representatives. The commissioners, finding these chiefs unyielding in their opposition to the terms offered, undertook to break the power of these chiefs with their tribe. John Grass, on this occasion, was the first spokesman and addressed the commission on the subject as follows: "You have said many things to shame the Indians. You accuse us of saying that the great father in Washington lies. We did not say that. We say that the commissioners whom he sends to us are liars. We have told you that we did not want to sign these papers, and we mean it. We do not want to sign because we are not getting enough for our lands. That is just what we mean. You talk too much to us. You tell us many things that are not in the bill. You say that I am not authorized to speak for the Indians. I say I am, and I stand here now talking for all of the Indians." At the close of his speech John Grass called upon the Indians to disperse and leave the agency. The commission failed in their efforts. The following year, however, a new commission, headed by Governor Foster of Ohio and of which General George Crook was a member, met these chiefs in council and secured their consent to the terms of a treaty, which gave the Indians greater recompense for their lands. On this occasion John Grass made an exhaustive and able speech, during which he astonished the members of the commission by his force and logic and gained the admiration of all his hearers. The Charging Bear, the name by which he is known to the Indians, still lives, at the age of 65, at his home near Saint Francis Mission, between Grand River and Oak Creek. He has a good home, is a good neighbor and friend, and is a member of the Catholic church, in which organization he is an active member. Though never a warrior, John Grass is a strong character. He is and has been distinctively the statesman of the northern Sioux. In his negotiations with the whites he has shown a keen sense of values, a mature judgment, a profound understanding of the necessities of his people that has surprised every official of the Indian department who has undertaken to deal with him. His judgment upon what would be for the greatest good of his kinsmen is remarkable, and, generally speaking, he has been successful in everything he has set out to accomplish for them. The Indians have a most profound respect for him and have for twenty years or more relied upon his judgment whenever any negotiations that might affect them were to be carried on. It is said that even the non-progressive followers of Sitting Bull, during this chieftain's lifetime, would solicit the opinion of John Grass before the final decision. Though probably eclipsed as an orator, in the opinion of the Indians, by Running Antelope of the Sioux, from the white man's point of view Charging Bear, or John Grass, is among the greatest if not the greatest living Indian orator.

[91]**Natural Gas**—In 1893, when the government sunk an artesian well

at the Indian school at Pierre, it was discovered that with the supply of water there was a considerable quantity of gas. No effort, however, was made to measure the amount or to put it to any use. In 1894 a small well was sunk at the Locke Hotel of that city for the purpose of securing gas and water. This well produced about 40,000 feet of gas daily. Analysis indicated that it was a coal gas. Two wells have since been sunk by the city, which have produced sufficient gas to demonstrate that Dakota has a valuable gas field. From our present knowledge, the extent of this field is uncertain. The eastern limit is approximately about thirty miles east of the Missouri River. A well about twenty miles southeastward contains about the same amount of gas as is found in the wells at Pierre. Wells still farther south and east in Brule county do not contain gas. The indications are that the northern limit is far up the Missouri, several wells bearing quantities of gas having been sunk in North Dakota. The western limit is as yet entirely undefined. Judging, however, from the extent of the field northward, the gas field of the Dakotas is of wide extent.

[12]**Dakota Climate**—Dr. D. W. Robinson, "Dakota for Health Seekers," a climatic sketch, Monthly South Dakotan, December, 1898.

[13]**Turtle Mountain Indians**—The Indians for whom the Turtle Mountain reservation was set apart on the Pembina, or Red River; branch of the Ojibway or Chippewa tribe.

[14]**William H. Hare**—Right Rev. William H. Hare, D. D., the present bishop of South Dakota, was elected bishop of Niobrara for the Episcopal church in the fall of 1872. For a dozen years prior to this date he was a successful clergyman and secretary of the foreign committee of the board of missions. Bishop Hare arrived in his western field in April, 1873. His first bishopric comprised all that extensive field west of the Missouri River and including Nebraska and Wyoming. All the bands of the Sioux and other tribes east of the Rockies came under his jurisdiction. With the exception of two years, which were spent in Japan, Bishop Hare has been at his post of duty. The diocese of Niobrara was changed to Dakota in 1883, and he was made bishop of Dakota, and at the present time is bishop of South Dakota. During his long term of twenty-nine years his missionary labors have been carried on with faithfulness and success. Bishop Hare has been long known as an enthusiastic Dakotan. His former Dakota residence was Yankton, and his present home is at Sioux Falls. He received his honorary degree of D. D. from Columbia college. Born at Princeton, N. J., May 17, 1838.

[15]**Governor Ordway**—Governor Nehemiah G. Ordway was born at Warner, N. H., November 10, 1828, and now resides at that place. He was appointed by President Hayes and was the seventh governor of Dakota Territory. In his earlier career he had been general agent of the post-office department for the New England states. While holding this position he was chosen sergeant-at-arms of the national house of representatives at Washington, and began his services at the opening of the

Thirty-eighth congress. He held his position for twelve years, or through five successive congresses. He was appointed governor of Dakota in May, 1880, and continued in office for the succeeding four years. During the four years of Governor Ordway's official tenure Dakota had a phenomenal development. Most of the towns and many counties had their beginning during this period. About a quarter of a million people were added to the population. Most of the public buildings, dual in number, were erected. The governor personally superintended the building of many of these structures. Many miles of railway were constructed. Speculation ran wild, and the new governor did not escape the accusation that the securing of wealth was his first motive. Though he failed to secure the confidence of the people, yet it may be questioned whether a just interpretation was placed upon motives. It must be remembered that a public figure becomes a target for many unjust criticisms, and the governor seems in a measure to have been a victim. During the agitation of the removal of the capital from Yankton in 1882 the governor was accused of using his official power for the purposes of personal gain, but in the light of subsequent knowledge it does not seem that these charges were well founded. Governor Ordway is now an old man, but fairly vigorous. He is spending the twilight of his life in ease and comfort on his large breeding farm near Warner, N. H.

[96]**Great Sioux Treaty**—For text of the portions of this treaty relating to the relinquishment of Indian title, see Appendix "D," this article.

[97]**The Messiah Craze,** or ghost dance, of the Indians in 1889 and 1890 was in conception and sentiment a religious fallacy; the Indian's excited supplication for the destruction of his oppressors, and was based on the hope of return of the olden time of happiness and plenty, and the resurrection of all the dead of the race to enjoy it. It was not unlike in nature numberless follies which have overtaken civilized nations, but it lacked the cruelty of many. A strange part of the history of all people is the history of these outbursts of excitement, when a large portion of the populace, from the highest to the lowest, become crazed by some delusion. At one period our ancestors in Europe crowded in frenzied mobs on a crusade against the infidels of the east, and again, for fear of an evil being, sacrificed thousands of lives of friends, neighbors and relatives to the delusion of witchcraft. It may be observed that the ghost dance craze among the Indians was less sentimental than the instances of popular delusion cited to the credit of civilized white men. Nor was the delusion of the Indians tinctured with cruelty and flagrant, premeditated crime extending over long periods of time, as the craze of witchcraft. Neither can it be said that our far advanced nineteenth century civilization is without instances of delusions and spasms of excitement, when the sanctity of both civil and moral law was temporarily set side by the larger portion of the populace.

The writer had the experience of being within the craze zone in the memorable riots in the Ohio valley in 1880. For three days a large

part of the populace at Pittsburg, Pa., was overwhelmed by a craze for crime. Merchants and professional men, the wealthy and the tramp, Christian and Jew, side by side committed crimes within those three days which many of them never before approached in thought, and when their delirium subsided stood aghast at themselves. The above observations may be in part foreign to the history of the "ghost dance craze" among the Indians, but the editor may be excused the comparison since the ghost dance or messiah craze is often spoken of as the first born of its species. Like others of various declensions and kinds, it may be accounted for from the standpoint that it was natural. The most general excitement incident to the craze was among the Sioux and other Indians on the reservations in Dakota, and the most intense demonstrations were at and around Pine Ridge agency, South Dakota. For the text of the comprehensive view of General Miles on the subject, see Doane Robinson's History of South Dakota, page 150, et seq.

[97-2]**William A. Howard**—William A. Howard, a native of Vermont, was the sixth governor of Dakota and one of the ideal early executives of the Territory. After his graduation from college in his native state he removed to Detroit, Michigan, where he practiced law and in due time became one of the leading citizens. He was elected to congress from the Detroit district for three successive terms. This service in congress was rendered during that trying and dangerous period in the nation's history from 1856 to 1863. While in congress, Governor Howard was noted for the faithful performance of every duty imposed upon him. This gave him position on many important committees. In 1860 he was an ardent supporter of Abraham Lincoln. His vigorous support of Mr. Lincoln for president did much to mould public sentiment in his favor, for Governor Howard was known as the author of the "Black Republican Bible," the report of a committee of which he and John Sherman were members, on the "border ruffian" outrages in Kansas. After the war he became land commissioner for the Northern Pacific Railway Company and engaged in other important business enterprises. Governor Howard supported the nomination of President Hayes, and after the latter's election the new president tendered him a foreign embassy. Indifferent health prevented him from accepting a foreign charge. Subsequently he was made governor of the young Territory of Dakota. He became a very active and self-sacrificing governor. His attachment to his new home was sincere, and his enthusiasm and hope in the development of the Territory almost unbounded. Though constantly suffering from acute disease, he was ever active and vigilant in behalf of the interests of the people. Knowing that his remaining days were comparatively few, he asked that he be buried in Dakota. Governor Howard was a devout Christian, a fearless, faithful public servant and a model citizen, charitable, kind and forgiving. His death was deeply felt by those whose fortune it was to know him and learn the sterling worth of his character. Born in Vermont, 1812, died at Washington, D. C., 1880.

[98]**Governor Pierce**—Gilbert A. Pierce, governor of Dakota from July,

1884, until November, 1886, was a native of New York. His boyhood was spent in Indiana, where he, with his parents, removed when he was quite young. After taking a literary course in Chicago University, he entered the law department of that institution. In 1861 he enlisted in the Ninth Indiana volunteers and was chosen second lieutenant. Soon thereafter he was promoted to a captaincy and took part in the battles of Paducah, Fort Donaldson, Shiloh and Vicksburg. In 1863 he was promoted to lieutenant colonel, and in 1864 to colonel and inspector general of the war department, and was assigned to duty in the south. Following his military service he returned to Indiana and was elected to the legislature of that state in 1868. He was appointed assistant clerk of the United States senate in 1869 and 1870. In 1871 he entered the editorial staff of the Chicago Inter Ocean as associate editor. At the time of his appointment as governor of Dakota he was connected with the Chicago News. After his resignation as governor, in 1886, he remained a resident of Dakota and when the two states were admitted to the union he was in 1889, chosen United States senator from North Dakota. In 1891, at the expiration of his term as United States senator, he was again a candidate, but failed of re-election. Soon thereafter he became owner and chief editor of the Minneapolis Tribune. Failing health necessitating a change, President Harrison, in 1893, appointed him United States minister to Portugal. Not being benefited in health, he resigned this position and returned to the United States. Governor Pierce was a man of fine literary attainments and an author of considerable note. Several novels are to his credit, as well as plays and sketches. His best literary production and the work for which he will be remembered is his "Dictionary of Dickens' Works." This work is now issued uniformly with the library editions of Dickens.

[90]**Governor Church**—Louis K. Church, the ninth governor of Dakota, first came to the Territory as judge of the Fifth judicial circuit, being appointed to this position by President Cleveland. He was born in the state of New York in 1850, where he lived until his appointment as judge. He was an ardent Democrat in politics and a friend and supporter of Grover Cleveland. In 1882 he represented his district in the New York legislature. This session was made memorable in New York politics by the war for supremacy between Mr. Cleveland, who was then governor, and his friends, and the Tammany Hall Democracy. In this battle, which resulted in a victory for Cleveland, the two young legislators, Louis K. Church as a Democrat, and Theodore Roosevelt on the Republican side, were among his most ardent and trustworthy lieutenants. While serving on the bench in 1887 President Cleveland appointed him governor of the Territory. He remained in office until President Cleveland was succeeded by General Harrison. The defeat of his chief was a real sorrow to Governor Church. Soon after retiring from the office of governor he resumed the practice of law in Huron. Subsequently he removed to the state of Washington, where he died in the year 1898. Governor Church was considered a painstaking, conscientious executive. Though sur-

rounded by a large majority of those who differed with him in political belief, it may be said that he acquitted himself with credit.

[100]**Governor Mellette**—Arthur C. Mellette, the tenth and last governor of Dakota Territory and the first governor of the state of South Dakota, was an Indianan by birth and a son of a farmer. At the age of eighteen he entered the University of Bloomington, Indiana, and graduated with honor from this institution in the year 1863. Soon thereafter he enlisted as a conscript soldier, as a substitute for an invalid brother, and served during the remaining years of the war. After being mustered out of the military service he studied law and became a partner of Colonel Brady, his regimental commander. He was prosecuting attorney for his district, and subsequently served his district in the Indiana legislature. While a legislator he became distinguished as an authority on school law. Through his efforts, needed and valuable modifications were made in the school laws of Indiana, which were models for similar laws in other states. On account of the health of Mrs. Mellette he went first to Colorado and finally, in 1879, settled in Springfield, S. D. Soon thereafter he was appointed receiver of the United States land office at Springfield, which was soon removed to Watertown. He soon became the leading citizen of his new home and identified himself with the interests of the city and community. He was a delegate to the Sioux Falls constitutional convention of 1883, and in 1885 was elected governor of Dakota by election held under the Sioux Falls convention of that year, in anticipation of statehood. Governor Mellette was a strong and constant friend to division and statehood of the two Dakotas, and spent large sums of his private means in advancing the interests of these projects. He was chosen national Republican committeeman in 1888, and the following year President Harrison appointed him governor of Dakota. At the election held in the fall of 1889 he was made governor of South Dakota, and again, one year later, was chosen chief executive of the new state. After the ending of his second term as governor, in 1893, he resumed the practice of law at Watertown. Governor Mellette was one of Treasurer Taylor's bondsmen and suffered severe financial reverses on account of the unfortunate defalcation of this officer. The course of the ex-governor in this trying emergency was highly honorable. In January, 1895, when it became known that the state treasurer was in default and a fugitive from justice, he turned over to the state all his possessions, including exemptions, and began life anew. Soon thereafter he removed to Pittsburg, Kansas, where he lived until his death, which took place May 25, 1896. Agreeable to his well known wishes, often expressed by him, his remains were interred at Watertown, S. D. Governor Mellette will ever be remembered in the history of Dakota as one of our most learned and honorable executives. His pure morality and spotless personal conduct, his rugged honesty in public affairs, his high-minded faithfulness to discharge of duty, mark him as no ordinary man. Few public men had his quality of heart and mind.

[102]**Richard Franklin Pettigrew**, a prominent lawyer and ex-senator of

the United States, was born at Ludlow, Vermont, in July, 1848. He is the son of Andrew and Hannah B. (Sawtelle) Pettigrew. They removed, in 1854, to Evansville, Rock county, Wisconsin. He was educated in Evansville academy and Beloit college; afterward studied law in the University of Wisconsin. He came to Dakota in 1869 as a surveyor in the employ of the United States deputy surveyor, and located at Sioux Falls, in the business of surveying and real estate, and in 1872 began the practice of law, which profession he has since followed. He was married on February 27, 1879, to Bessie V. Pittare of Chicago. He was a member of the Dakota legislature from 1877 to 1881; delegate in congress 1881-3; member of the South Dakota constitutional convention in 1883; member of territorial council in 1884-5; United States senator from South Dakota in 1889 to 1901. His home is in Sioux Falls.

[103]**Granville G. Bennett**, associate justice of the supreme court of Dakota from 1875 to 1879, delegate in congress from 1879 to 1881. Judge Bennett was a pioneer of the Black Hills and held the first regular terms of court there at a date when the administration of justice required moral and physical courage as well as learning in the law.

[104]**Oscar S. Gifford**, of Canton, a native of Watertown, New York; served in the civil war and was elected to congress as delegate from Dakota Territory in 1884, re-elected in 1886, and again in 1889; is a lawyer and at this time (1902) is superintendent of the National Asylum for Insane Indians at Canton.

[105]**George A. Mathews**, of Brookings, was born at Pottsdam, New York, in 1852. When a youth of 13, his family removed to Fayette, Iowa, where he grew up and was educated and was admitted to practice law in 1878. The next year he drove a span of mules from Iowa into Brookings county, where he has since made his home. Was elected delegate to congress from Dakota Territory in the fall of 1888, but the state was admitted before he took his seat. Has been member of the territorial council and president of the same, also mayor of Brookings, and is engaged in the successful practice of his profession there.

[106]**Omnibus Bill**, so called because it provided for the admission of North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana and Washington, is published at large in the session laws of 1891 and is therefore accessible to most of the citizens, and for that reason is not reprinted here.

[107]**Pattison F. McClure**, territorial commissioner of immigration from 1887 to 1889, was born in Franklin county, Indiana, in 1853. When one year old he removed with his parents to the state of Kansas, where he spent his boyhood. He began his college education at the State Agricultural College of Kansas, and afterwards studied at Cornell University, New York. Mr. McClure first came to Dakota in 1880, and during that year located at Pierre, where he has since lived. Mr. McClure gained an enviable reputation in the conduct of the office of commissioner of immigration, and was subsequently honored by his party by the nomination as governor of the state. He is now at the head of one of the prominent banking institutions at Pierre.

THE

Voyage of Groseilliers and Radisson

1652 to 1684

By ROBERT F. KERR

Printed Here to Negatively Settle the Contention that these Men Visited Dakota

THE VOYAGE OF GROSEILLIERS AND RADISSON IN THE NORTHWEST FROM 1652 TO 1684

BY ROBERT F. KERR

In all the early histories of the Dakotas, there is a statement something like the following: "Two young Canadian fur traders accompanied a party of Indians to the far west, in 1654, and, it is thought, were the first white men who entered the present Territory of Dakota." On page 176 of Andreas' Historical Atlas of Dakota, it is claimed that these two fur traders visited Jerauld county, in what is now South Dakota, and traded in furs in that year. That this tradition is founded upon fact is the contention of many students of our early history. Consequently, at the request of the executive committee of the department of history of the state of South Dakota, I shall endeavor to prepare a paper on the subject of this early visitation.

The earliest recorded narrative of any travelers who penetrated the territory west of the Great Lakes is that of the two Frenchmen, Groseilliers and Radisson. The travels of these two are occasionally alluded to in the earlier histories of New France, but it was not until recent years that we have had access to an authentic account of their travels written by one of them. The volume is entitled "Voyages of Peter Esprit Radisson, being an Account of his Travels and Experiences among the North American Indians from 1652 to 1684. Transcribed from the original manuscripts in the Bodleain Library and the British Museum. With historical illustrations, and an introduction, by Gideon D. Scull, London, England. Boston: Published by the Prince Society. 1885."

The preface of this very interesting book states that the contents remained in manuscript form for more than two hundred years, and in the meantime appear to have escaped the

notice of scholars, as not even extracts from the narratives have, so far as any one is aware, found their way into print. The author was a native of France, and had an imperfect knowledge of the English language. The journals, with the exception of the last in the volume, are, however, written in that language, and, as might be anticipated, in orthography, in the use of words, and in the structure of the sentences, conform to no known standard of English composition. But the meaning is in all cases clearly conveyed. They were evidently not written for publication, but for the information of some English capitalists who afterwards formed the Hudson Bay Company. The Prince Society says: "In justice both to the author and reader they have been printed verbatim et literatim, as in the original manuscript."

As I shall have occasion to quote many passages from the book in order to review the story of his adventures and travels, I will not adhere to all his quaint orthography. Many of the incidents related in the text are without apparent order and not closely connected, so that the narratives are difficult to follow. One of the chief perplexities in reviewing his story is to locate the exact routes taken by him and his companion, for the rivers and lakes had no names and the travelers were not astronomers enough to give the latitude and longitude of their stopping places.

Radisson's narratives of his first two voyages are of no special interest in this connection, for he did not visit the northwest. Groseilliers seems to have been engaged in a contraband trade with the Hurons and Ottawas in what is now Upper Canada at the time of Iroquois' raid upon these tribes and their dispersion (1649-50), a full account of which is found in chapters 27 and 28 of Parkman's "Jesuits in North America."

Radisson in closing his account of his second voyage made in the "upper country of the Iroquoits," where he was a prisoner, says:

"About the last of March (1654) we ended our great pains and incredible dangers. About 14 nights after we went down the 3 rivers where most of us stayed. A month after my brother and I resolves to travel and see countries. We find a good opportunity. In our voyage we proceeded three years. During that time we had the happiness to see very fair countries."

The above was a sort of footnote introduction to his account

of his third voyage. On page 134 of the volume mentioned we quote:

"So my brother seeing me back from those two dangerous voyages, so much by the cruelties of the barbars as for the difficulties of the ways, for this reason he thought I was fitter and more faithful for the discovery he was to make. He plainly told me his mind; I knowing it longed to see myself in a boat. There were several companies of wild men expected from several places, because they promised the year before, and (to) take advantage of the spring (this to deceive the Iroquois who are always in wait to destroy them), and of the rivers which is by reason of the melting of the great snows which is only that time, for otherwise no possibility to come that way, because for the swift streams that run in summer, and in other places the want of water, so that no boat can come through. We soon see the performance of that people, for a company came to the Three Rivers where we were. They told us that another company was arrived at Mont Royal, and that two more were to come, one to the Three Rivers, the other to Saegne, a river of Tudousack, who arrived two days after. * * * Many go and come to Quebec for to know the resolution of the Governor, who, together with the fathers thought fit to send a company of French to bring back if possible, those wild men the next year, or others, being that it is the best manna of the country by which the inhabitants do subsist, and makes the French vessels to come there and go back loaded with merchandise for the traffic of furriers who come from the remotest parts of North America.

"As soon as the resolution was made, many undertake the voyage; for where there is lucre there are people enough to be had. The best and ablest men for that business were chosen. * * * Two fathers were chosen to conduct the company, and endeavored to convert some of those foreigners of the remotest country to the Christian faith. * * * About the middle of June we began to take leave of our company and venture our lives for the common good. We find 2 and 30 men, some inhabitants, some Gailliards that desired but do well. What fairer bastion than a good tongue, especially when one sees his own chimney smoke, or when we can kiss our own wives or kiss our neighbor's with ease and delight? * * * At last we take our journey to see the issue of a prosperous venture in such a dan-

gerous enterprise. We resolved not to be the first that should complain. The French were together in order, the wild men also, saving my brother and I, that were accustomed to such like voyages, have fear for what happened afterwards. Before our setting forth we made some gifts, and by that means we were sure of their good will, so that he and I went into the boats of the wild men. We were nine and twenty French in number and six wild men. We embarked our train in the night, because our number should not be known to some spies that might be in ambush to know our departure; for the Iroquois are always abroad. We were two nights to get to Mont Royal, where eight Ottawas stayed for us and two French. * * * We stayed no longer there than as the French got themselves ready. We took leave without noise of guns."

Here follows an account of their being waylaid by the Iroquois after they were out three or four days and a running fight in which they lost thirteen "that were killed and taken in that defeat." * * *

Continuing, he says:

"The French seeing they were not able to undergo such a voyage, they consult together, and for conclusion resolved to give an end to such labors and dangers; moreover, found themselves incapable to follow the wild men, who went with all speed possible night and day for the fear they were in. The fathers, seeing our weakness, desired the wild men that they might have one or two to direct them, which by no means was granted, but bid us do as the rest. We still keep our resolution, and, knowing more tricks than they, would not go back, which should be disdainful and prejudicial. We told them so plainly, that we would finish that voyage or die by the way. Besides that, the wild men did not complain of us at all, but encouraged us. After long arguing, everyone had the liberty to go backwards or forwards, if any had courage to venture himself with us. Seeing the great difficulties, all with one consent went back again, and we went on.

"The wild men were not sorry for their departure, because of their ignorance in the affairs of such navigation. It is a great alteration to see one-and-thirty reduced to two. We encouraged one another, both willing to live and die with one another, and that is the least we could do, being brothers (-in-law).

* * * We were come above 300 leagues always against the stream, and made sixty carriages (portages), besides the swift streams we overcame by the oars and poles to come to the little lake of the castors[1] (beavers) which may be 30 or 40 leagues in compass. The upper end of it is full of islands, where there is not time lost to wander about, finding wherewithal to make the kettle boil with venison, great bears, castors and fishes, which are plenty in that place.

"The river that we go to the great lake is somewhat favorable. We go down with ease and running of the water, which empties itself in that lake which we are now coming in. * * *

"We stopped in a bay all full of rocks, small isles.[2] * * * Here we are stirring about in our boats as nimble as bees. * * * We divided ourselves into two companies. Seven boats went towards west northwest and the rest to the south. * * * We that were for the south went on several days merrily and saw by the way the place where the Jesuits had heretofore lived; * * * In many places there are many large open fields wherein, I believe, wildmen formerly lived before the destruction of the many nations which did inhabit, and took more place then 600 leagues about; for I can well say that from the river of Canada to the great lake of the Hurons, which is near 200 leagues in length and 60 in breadth, as I guess, for I have [been] round about it. * * * After we travelled many days we arrived at a large island[3] and where we found their village, their wives and children. You must know that we passed

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[1]There were three routes used by early travelers in getting to the upper lakes from Montreal. One up the Ottawa, across Nipissing and down the French River to Georgian Bay. Another part way up the Ottawa, thence up one of its branches and west through a chain of small lakes to Simcoe Lake, and down the Severn River to the southeastern part of Georgian Bay. The third up the St. Lawrence River, along the north shore of Lake Ontario to the River Humber, ascending that and crossing to Lake Simcoe, thence down the Severn River. The "little lake of the castors" must have been one of the numerous lakes in the second route. This route has numerous "carriages" (portages), and is undoubtedly the one taken on the trip out.

[2]This was evidently Matchedash Bay, an arm of the Georgian Bay.

[3]This was the island of Michilimackinac, where most of the Hurons and Ottawas fled from the attacks of the Iroquois when the missions of the Hurons were destroyed in 1649-50.

a strait some three leagues beyond that place. The wildmen gave it a name; it is another lake, but not so big as that we passed before. We call it the lake of the staring hairs because those that live about it have their hair like a brush turned up. They all have a hole in their nose. * * * The nation that we were with had wars with the Iroquois and must trade. * * * We were then (after a small battle) possessed by the Hurons and Ottawas; but our mind was not to stay in an island, but to be known with the remotest people. * * * So we desired to go with a company of theirs to the nation of the staring hairs (Hurons). We were welcomed and made much of, saying that we were the gods and devils of the earth; * * * That nation called Pottawattamies without more ado comes and meets us with the rest and peace was concluded. Feasts were made and dames with gifts came of each side, with a great deal of mirth. We visited them during the winter, and by that means we made acquaintance with another nation called Escotecke, which signified fire,[4] a fair and proper nation; they are tall and big and very strong. We came there in the spring. There they never have seen men with beards, because they pull their hairs as soon as it comes out; but much more astonished when they saw our arms, especially our guns, which they worshipped by blowing smoke of tobacco instead of sacrifice.

"In this last voyage that we made I will let you only know what course we ran in three years time. We desired them to let us know their neighboring nations. * * * Among others they told us of a nation called Nadoneceronon,[5] which is very strong, with whom they were in wars with, and another wandering nation living only upon what they could come by. Their dwelling was on the side of the salt water in the summer time, and in the land in the winter time, for it is cold in their country. They call themselves Christinos,[6] and their confederates from all times, by reason of their speech, which is the same, and often

[4]This tribe lived on the Fox River, Wisconsin, above Lake Winnebago. The Mascoutins, Fire Nation, or Nation of the Prairie, are extinct or merged with other tribes.

[5]Radisson's method of spelling Nadouessioux, which has been shortened to the word Sioux.

[6]Christinos, variously spelled, but best known as the Knisteneaux, who dominated all the country between Lake Superior and Hudson Bay.

have joined together and have had companies of soldiers to war against that great nation. We desired not to go to the north till we had made a discovery in the south, and being desirous to know what they did. They told us if we would go with them to the great lake of the stinkings,[7] the time was come of their traffic, which was of as many knives as they could get from the French nation, because of their dwellings, which was at the coming in of a lake called Superior, but since the destruction of many neighboring nations they retired themselves to the height of the lake. We knew these people well. We went to them almost yearly, and the company that came up with us were of the said nation, but never could tell punctually where they lived because they make the bar of the Christinos from whence they have the castors that they bring to the French. This place is 600 leagues off, by reason of the circuit which they must do with the Hurons and the Ottawas, from whence we came last, furnishes them also, and comes to the farthest part of the lake of the stinkings, there to have light earthen pots and girdles made of goat's hairs, and small shells that grow at the sea-side; with which they trim their cloth made of skin. * * * We, finding this opportunity to go south would not let it slip, but made gifts, telling them that the other nation would stand in fear of them because of us. * * * I can assure you that I liked no country as I have wherein we wintered (1654-55), for whatsoever a man could desire was to be had in great plenty; viz: stags, fishes in abundance, and all sorts of meat, corn enough. * * *

"We nevertheless put ourselves in hazard, for our curiosity, of stay two or three years among that nation."

Having spent the winter with the Hurons and the Ottawas, who were then living upon the islands at the north part of the Lake of the Puans (Green Bay), they started on their southward journey in the spring of 1655. Radisson says: "We embarked ourselves on the delightfullest lake of the world. I took notice of the cottages and of the journeys of our navigation, for because that country was so pleasant, so beautiful and fruitful, that

[7]Green Bay, called Baye des Puans by early writers, for the reason, it is supposed, that some portion of the bay was said to have an odor like the sea. The Winnebagos, living near it, were called Les Puans.

it grieved me to see that the world could not discover such enticing countries to live in. This I say because that the Europeans fight for a rock in the sea against one another, and for sterile land and horrid country, that the people sent here or there by changement of air, engenders sickness and dies thereof. Contrarywise these kingdoms are so delicious and under so temperate a climate, the earth bringing forth its fruit twice a year, the people live long and lusty and wise in their way. * * * We meet with several nations, all sedentary, amazed to see us, and were very civil. The further we sojourned the delightfuller the land was to us. I can say that [in] my lifetime I never saw a more incomparable country, for all I have been in Italy; yet Italy comes short of it, as I think, when it was inhabited, and now forsaken of the wildmen. Being about the great sea, we conversed with people that dwelleth about the salt water, who told us that they saw some great white thing sometimes upon the water, and came towards the shore, and men in the top of it, and made a noise like a company of swans; which made me believe that they were mistaken, for I could not imagine what it could be, except the Spaniard; and the reason is that we found a barrel broken as they use in Spain. Those people have their hair long. They reap twice a year; they are called Tatarga,[8] that is to say, buff. They war against Nadonecerons, and war also against the Christinos. These two do no great harm to one another because the lake is between both. They are generally stout men and they are able to defend themselves. They came but once a year to fight. * * * We were everywhere made much of; neither wanted victuals, for all the different nations that we met conducted us and furnished us with all necessaries.

"The summer passed away with admiration by the diversity of the nations that we saw, as for the beauty of the shore of that sweet sea. * * * There are birds whose bills are two and twenty thumbs long. That bird swallows a whole salmon, keeps it a long time in his bill. We saw also she-goats, very big. There is an animal somewhat less than a cow whose meat is exceeding good. There is no want of stags nor buffs. There

[8]This is his spelling of the word Tetanka, meaning buffalo. It is difficult to determine the tribe he means. It may have been the Teton Sioux.

are so many turkeys that the boys throw stones at them for their recreation. * * * As for the buff, it is a furious animal. One must have a care of him, for every year he kills some Nadonecerons. He comes for the most part in the plains and meadows, and feeds like an ox. * * * The horns of the buffs are as those of an ox but not so long, but bigger, and of a blackish color. He hath a very long hairy tail. He is reddish, his hair frizzed and very fine; all the parts of his body much like unto an ox. The biggest are bigger than any ox whatsover. The vines grow all by the river side; the lemons are not so big as ours, and sourer. The grape is very big, green, and is seen there at all times. It never freezes there, but is mighty hot; yet for all that, the country is not so unwholesome, for we seldom have seen infirm people. * * *

"We were four months in our voyage without doing anything but going from river to river. We met several sorts of people. We conversed with them, being long in alliance with them. By persuasion of some of them we went into the great river that divides itself in two,[9] where the Hurons and some of the Ottawas and the wild men that had wars with them had retired. There is not great difference in their language, as we were told. This nation have wars against those of the forked river. It is so called because it has two branches, the one towards the west, the other towards the south, which we believe runs towards Mexico, by the tokens they give us. Being among these people, they told us the prisoners they take tell them that they have wars against a nation, against men that build great cabins, and have great beards, and have such knives as we have. Moreover, they showed us a decad of beads and guilded pearls that they have from that people, which made us believe they were Europeans. They showed us one of that nation that was taken the year before. We understood him not; he was much more tawny[10] than they with whom we were. His arms and legs were turned outside; that was the punishment inflicted on him. So they do with them that they take, and kill them with

[9]Good authorities contend that this was the Missouri and that the branch towards the south, which they believed ran towards Mexico, was the Platte.

[10]This is believed to have reference to the African slave that was captured from the Spanish expedition in search of the seven cities of Cibola.

clubs, and do often eat them. They do not burn the prisoners as those of the northern parts. * * * Tending to those people, went towards the south and came back by the north. * * * We had not as yet seen the nation Nadoneceronons. We had Hurons with us. We persuaded them to come along to see their own nation that fled there, but they would not go by any means. We thought to get some castors there to bring down to the French, seeing it at last impossible to us to make such a circuit in a twelve months' time. * * *

"We retired ourselves to the higher lake nearer the Nadoneceronons, where we were well received. * * * We arrived then where the nation of the Sault was. * * * There we passed the winter. * * * Most of the woods and forests are very thick, so that in some places it was as dark as a cellar. The snow that falls, being very light, has not the strength to stop an eland (moose)."

The remainder of the account of this third voyage is taken up with narratives of their experiences in hunting and trading around the western shores of the Great Lakes, acting as peacemakers between hostile tribes, and preparing for their home journey. The second summer Radisson continues:

"That summer I went hunting, and my brother stayed where he was welcome and put up a great deal of Indian corn that was given him. He intended to furnish the wild men that were to go down to the French, if they had not enough. The wild men did not perceive this; for if they wanted any, we could hardly keep it for our use. The winter passed away in good correspondence one with another. We sent ambassadors to the nations that used to go down to the French, which rejoiced them the more and made us pass that year with a greater pleasure, saving that my brother fell into the falling sickness, and many were sorry for it. That proceeded only from long stay in a new discovered country, and idleness contributed much to it. There is nothing comparable to exercise. * * * After he languished awhile God gave him his health again. The desire that everyone had to go down to the French made them earnestly look out for castors. There were no less, I believe, than five hundred men that were willing to venture themselves. The corn that my brother kept did us a world of good."

Here follows a description of a panic caused by another

attack upon the Hurons by the Iroquois and the diplomacy of the two traders in getting under way with their equipage. They passed the lakes without danger, but had to fight the Iroquois on their voyage down the Ottawa River. In a mishap in running one of the rapids in the river, the canoe in which Radisson's brother was turned over, and his (Groseilliers) book of notations of the last year was lost, and we have no particulars concerning his travels and transactions. Radisson's narrative closes as follows:

"The Iroquois got a great way before us, not well satisfied to have stayed for us, having lost seven of their men; two of them were not nimble enough, for our bullets and arrows made them stay for good and all. Seven of our men were sick, who had barely escaped from being drowned, and two were wounded by the Iroquois. * * * The next day we went on without any delay nor encounter. * * * We came to Quebec, where we were saluted with the thundering of the guns and batteries of the fort, and of the three ships that were then at anchor, which would have gone back to France without castors if we had not come. We were well treated for five days. The Governor made gifts and sent two brigantines to bring us to the Three Rivers, where we arrived the second day.

"That was the end of our three years' voyage and a few months (1657) After so much pain and danger God was so merciful as to bring us back safe to our dwelling, where the one was made much of by his wife, the other by his friends and kindred. * * *

"They went away the next day, and we stayed at home at rest that year. My brother and I considered whether we should discover what we had seen or no; and because we had not a full and whole discovery, which was that we have not been in the Bay of the North (Hudson's Bay), not knowing anything but by the report of the wild Christinos, we would make no mention of it for fear that those wild men should tell us a fib. We would have made a discovery of it ourselves and have an assurance before we should discover anything of it."

Fourth Voyage.

The fourth voyage of these two traders commenced in the summer of 1658. The only part of the narrative that is of par-

ticular interest in this connection is the account of their visit to the Sioux. On account of some unreasonable demands of the Governor in a business way they departed in secret and after a dangerous and laborious trip arrived safely at the Sault Ste. Marie. They visited the copper regions and discovered the pictured rocks of Lake Superior. They built a fort probably at the outlet of Rainy Lake, and visited the Indians along the shores of a lake four days' journey from their fort. Here they passed a distressing winter, in which many of the natives died of starvation. In the spring two men visit them from a strange land, whom they say were Nadoneceronons. After two moons eight ambassadors came from the same nation "that we will call now the Nation of the Beef." Much space is taken up in a description of the festivities and formalities of this occasion. Many of the customs of these visiting people are accurately described. In the ceremonies they smoked a calumet made of "a red stone, as big as a fist and as long as a hand." After the ambassadors' visit and feasting, others of the Nadoneserons came, and more ceremonies and entertainment. A sort of truce was arranged between hostile nations and trade relations established. The following relates to their visit to the Sioux:

"This feast ended, everyone returns to his country well satisfied. To be as good as our words, we came to the nation of the beef, which was seven small journeys from that place. We promised in like manner to the Christinos that the next spring we should come to their side of the upper lake, and there they should meet us, to come into their country. We being arrived among the nation of the beef, we wondered to find ourselves in a town where were cabins most covered skins and other close mats. They told us that there were 7,000 men. This we believed. These have as many wives as they can keep. If one did trespass upon the other, his nose was cut off, and often the crown of the head. The maidens have all manner of freedom, but are forced to marry when they come of age. The more they bear children the more they are respected. There they have no wood, and make provisions of moss for their firing. This their place is environed with pearches which are a good distance one from another, that they get in the valleys where the buff use to repair, upon which they do live. They sow corn, but their harvest is small. The soil is good, but the cold hinders it,

and the grain very small. * * * The people stay not there all the year; they retire in winter towards the woods of the north, where they kill a quantity of castors, and I say there are not so good in the whole world; but not in such store as the Christinos, but far better. We stayed there six weeks, and came back with a company of people of the nation of the Sault, that came along with us laden with booty. * * *"

The remainder of their sojourn in the north country and their return to their home in 1660 it is not necessary to describe. At the end of the account of his fourth voyage he gives the names of the several nations amongst which he had been for the most part, which he thinks may extend some 900 leagues from the reckoning of his travels. There is a list of 31 names of the nations in the south from the Avieronons to the Socoquis. It is difficult to identify many of these. "All these are sedentaries, and live upon corn and other grains, citrulls (pumpkins), by hunting and fishing, which is plentiful, and by the ragouts of roots. There were many destroyed by the Iroquois, and I have seen most of them that are left."

Of the names of the thirty-nine nations that live in the north but few are easily identified. Two of the thirty-nine "are sedentary and do reap, and all the rest are wandering people."

Conclusions

That Radisson and Groseilliers did not visit the Dakotas in 1654 is evident from a perusal of Radisson's journal. They did not start from Canada till the autumn of that year. In their journey southward the next year they must have traversed a good part of the Mississippi, else they would not have found a country resembling Italy in climate and fertility. If they visited the Missouri as far as the Platte on their homeward journey they could not have crossed South Dakota without coming in contact with the Sioux, whom they say they did not visit on this voyage, for the Nadoneceronons or Sioux occupied the Dakotas and nearly all of Minnesota at that time. In avoiding these they were confined to the slopes of Lake Michigan and to central and southern part of the Mississippi Valley. Not until the fourth voyage did they visit the Sioux and that was at their rendezvous around Mille Lacs. They were with this nation six weeks in the summer of 1659. It is possible that they made some excursions

from this lake to get beaver pelts, for a company of people came back with them "laden with booty." It is not more than 200 miles from Mille Lacs to Jerauld county in a straight line, and good beaver were to be found along the streams of this state at that time. A 400-mile journey on foot and in canoes could have been made in less than six weeks. So if these two traders visited this country it was in 1659 and not 1654. They did not mention any excursions while among the Sioux. If, however, Radisson visited all the tribes he enumerates at the close of the account of the fourth voyage he was at many places not mentioned in his book.

If the date of the visit to Wessington Hills is correct it must have been by a couple of coureurs de bois, or bush-rangers, whom Parkman says were "half-civilized vagrants" who roamed everywhere and were more Indian than white in their acquired habits. Some traders without license may have found this rich hunting ground for beavers, but they kept no journals, and their names will never be known except we find the account book of an early contraband trader in the archives of some old library.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE

PERTAINING TO THE

Leavenworth Expedition of 1823

INTO SOUTH DAKOTA

—— FOR THE ——

Conquest of the Ree Indians

WITH EXPLANATORY NOTES BY DOANE ROBINSON

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF THE LEAVENWORTH EXPEDITION INTO SOUTH DAKOTA IN 1823

WITH EDITORIAL NOTES BY DOANE ROBINSON

The following are the official letters relating to the expedition of Colonel Henry Leavenworth against the Ree Indians, located six miles north of the mouth of Grand River, on the west bank of the Missouri, in 1823. The letters tell the story very fully. The editor acknowledges his obligation to the war department for the text of the letters; to Mr. Robert E. McDowell, a member of this society, for kind assistance, and to Colonel H. M. Chittenden of the regular army for permission to use, at discretion, the information contained in his valuable and exhaustive history of the American fur trade.[1]

To a clear understanding of the relations of individual officers to this enterprise, it must be remembered that at that period John C. Calhoun was secretary of war; Major General Jacob Brown was general in chief, with headquarters at Washington; Major General E. P. Gaines was in command of the western department, with headquarters at Louisville, Kentucky; Brigadier General Henry Atkinson commanded the right wing of the western department, with headquarters at St. Louis, Mo.; Colonel Henry Leavenworth commanded the Sixth regiment, with headquarters at Fort Atkinson, sixteen miles north of the present site of Omaha; Benjamin O'Fallon was the government's agent having in charge all of the Indians on the Missouri River, his headquarters, too, being at Fort Atkinson.

Leavenworth to Atkinson

Fort Atkinson,[2] 18th June, 1823.

Dear Sir: I have just received a letter from General Ash-

ley[3], giving information of an attack upon his party by the Auricara[4] Indians, by which it appears that not only the survivors of his party, but many other American citizens, are in the most imminent danger. A copy of the general's letter I herewith enclose, and, also, a copy of an order which I have issued on the subject. I can only add, that we shall leave here for our destination as soon as possible, which I hope will be tomorrow or next day. We shall take two six pounders and small swivels, and, perhaps, a howitzer. My party will be about 200 strong in rank and file. If necessary, it is expected that we can raise a considerable auxiliary force amongst the Sioux. We shall do all we can to support the honor of your regiment, and hope, with the blessings of Heaven, to meet the approbation of our superiors and of our country. We go to secure the lives and property of our citizens, and to chastise and correct those who have committed outrages upon them. It will be our endeavor to do this as peaceably as the nature of the circumstances which may occur will admit.

I have the honor to be, with perfect respect,

Your obedient servant,

—H. Leavenworth,[5] 6th Reg.

Brig. Gen. H. Atkinson,[6]
Com'ng West'n Dept. Louisville, Ky.

Ashley to O'Fallon

On Board the Keel Boat Yellowstone, 25 miles below the Auricara Towns,[7] 4th June, 1823.

Dear Sir: On the morning of the 2d inst. I was attacked by the Auricara Indians, which terminated with great loss on my part. On my arrival there, the 30th of May, I was met very friendly by some of the chiefs, who expressed a great wish that I would stop and trade with them. Wishing to purchase horses to take a party of men to the Yellowstone River, I agreed to comply with their request, and proposed that the chiefs of the two towns would meet me that afternoon on the sand beach, when the price of horses should be agreed upon. After a long consultation among themselves, they made their appearance at the place proposed. I made them a small present and proposed to purchase 40 or 50 horses. They appeared much pleased, and expressed much regret that a difference had taken place between some of their nation and the Americans, alluding to the fray

which recently took place with a party of their men and some of the Missouri Fur Company,[5] which terminated in the loss of two Aricaras, one of whom was the son of the principal chief of one of the two towns. They, however, said that all the angry feelings occasioned by that affray had vanished, and that they considered the Americans as friends, and would treat them as such; that the number of horses I wanted would be furnished me for the price offered.

The next morning we commenced trading, which continued until the evening of the 1st inst., when preparations were made for my departure early the next morning. My party consisted of ninety men, forty of whom were selected to take charge of the horses, and cross the country by land, to the Yellowstone. They were encamped on the bank, within forty yards of the boats.

About half past 3 o'clock in the morning I was informed that one of my men had been killed, and, in all probability, the boat would be immediately attacked. The men were all under arms and so continued until sunrise, when the Indians commenced a heavy and well directed fire, from a line extending along the picketing of their towns, and some broken ground adjoining, about 600 yards in length. The shot were principally directed at the men on the beach, who were making use of the horses as a breastwork. We returned the fire; but, from the advantageous situation of the Indians, done but little execution. Finding their fire very destructive, I ordered the steersmen to weigh their anchors, and lay to shore for the purpose of embarking the men; but notwithstanding I used every measure in my power to have the order executed, I could not effect it. Two skiffs, which would carry thirty men, were taken ashore; but in consequence of a predetermination, on the part of the men on board, not to give way to the Indians as long as they could possibly do otherwise, they (with the exception of seven or eight) would not make use of the skiffs when they had opportunity of doing so. In about fifteen minutes from the time the firing commenced, the surviving part of the men were embarked; nearly all the horses killed or wounded; one of the anchors had been weighed, the cable of the other cut, and the boats dropping down the stream.

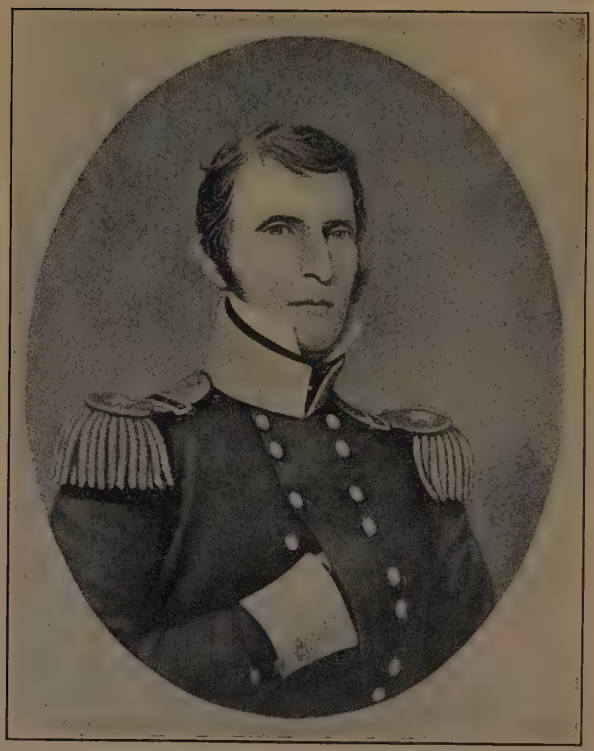
The boatmen, with but few exceptions, were so panic struck that it was impossible to get them to expose themselves to the least danger, indeed, for some time, to move them from their

seats. I ordered the boat landed at the first timber, for the purpose of putting the men and boats in a better situation to pass the villages in safety. When my intentions were made known, to my surprise and mortification, I was told by the men (with but few exceptions) that, under no circumstances, would they make a second attempt to pass, without a large reinforcement. Finding that no arguments that I could use would cause them to change their resolution, I commenced making arrangements for the security of my property. The men proposed that if I would descend the river to this place, fortify the boats or make any other defense for their security, they would remain with me until I could receive aid from Major Henry, or from some other quarter. I was compelled to agree to the proposition. On my arrival, I found them as much determined to go lower. A resolution had been formed by the most of them to desert. I called for volunteers to remain with me under any circumstances, until I should receive the expected aid. Thirty only volunteered; among them were but few boatmen; consequently I am compelled to send one boat back. After taking a part of her cargo on board of this boat, the balance will be stored at the first fort below. My loss in killed and wounded is as follows:

Killed—John Matthews, Jno. Collins, Aaron Steevens (killed at night in the fort), James McDaniel, Westley Piper, George Flage, Benj'n F. Sweed, James Penn, Jr., Jno. Miller, Jno. S. Gardner, Ellis Ogle, David Howard.

Wounded—Reece Gibson (since dead), Joseph Monse, John Lawson, Abraham Ricketts, Robert Tucker, Joseph Thompson, Jacob Miller, Daniel McClain, Hugh Glass, August Dufier, Willis (black man).

I do not conceive but two of the wounded in danger. How many of the Indians were killed I am at a loss to say; I think not more than seven or eight; four or five men were seen to fall on the beach. I thought proper to communicate this affair as early as an opportunity offered, believing that you would feel disposed to make these people account to government for the outrage committed. Should that be the case, and a force sent for that purpose in a short time, you will oblige me much if you will send me an express, at my own expense, if one can be procured, that I may meet and co-operate with you. From the situation of the Indian towns, it will be difficult for a small force



Gen. Henry Leavenworth

to oust them without a six-pounder. The towns are newly picketed in, with timber from six to eight inches thick, twelve to fifteen feet high, dirt in inside thrown up about eighteen inches. They front the river, and, immediately in front of them, is a large sand bar, forming nearly two-thirds of a circle, at the head of which (where the river is very narrow) they have a breast-work, made of dry wood. The ground on the opposite side of the river is high and commanding. They have about 600 warriors, I suppose, three-fourths of them are armed with London fuzils, others with bows and arrows, war axes, &c., &c.

I expect to hear from Major Henry[10] (to whom I sent an express) in twelve or fifteen days. During that time I shall remain between this place and the Aricara towns, not remaining any length of time in one place, as my force is small, not more than twenty-three effective.

Your friend and obedient servant,

—W. H. Ashley.

On board the boat that descends are five wounded men. Any assistance that you can afford them, I will feel under obligations to you for.

A true copy:

—H. Leavenworth,

Colonel Commanding 6th regiment.

Directed to Major B. O'Fallon,[11] Indian Agent, or to the commanding officer at Fort Atkinson.

Leavenworth's Orders to Go to Ashley's Relief

Headquarters, 6th Infantry, Fort Atkinson, 18th June, 1823.
Orders.

The colonel commanding has to announce to his command, that the Aricara Indians have attacked a party of Americans under the command of Gen. Wm. Ashley, Lt. Governor of the state of Missouri, who had a regular license from the government of the United States,[12] agreeably to the laws of congress for regulating trade and intercourse with the Indians. Fourteen of General Ashley's party have been killed and nine wounded. The lives of more than one hundred American citizens, now in the Indian country, are in the most imminent danger. Gen. Ashley, and about thirty men of his party, still bravely remain in the face of their savage enemy, and the general asks for as-

sistance. The colonel commanding deems it his duty to afford assistance to the survivors, and to chastise those Indians for the outrage which they have committed. And on this subject, there is the most perfect coincidence of opinion between the colonel commanding and Maj. Benjamin O'Fallon, the United States agent for Indian affairs on the Missouri. The colonel commanding is sure of the zealous co-operation and efficient support of Maj. O'Fallon, and the officers generally of the regiment which he has the honor to command.

Companies A, B, D, E, F and G will be prepared, as soon as possible, to march at a moment's warning. After the departure of the colonel commanding, the command of the residue of the regiment of the post will devolve upon Major Foster.[13] It is hoped and expected that the most zealous exertions will be made by every individual of the regiment, left here, to save the crops, and preserve the public property. In Major Foster's zeal and efficiency, and those generally who will remain, the colonel commanding has the fullest confidence. He is aware that their duties will be arduous, perhaps more so than those who will ascend the river. If any glory should be acquired, the regiment generally will share it; if those who ascend the river are unfortunate, they must bear it alone.

The acting post quartermaster will immediately engage the keel boat called the Yellow Stone Packet, and her patroon, and as many of the efficient men with her as practicable. In case he succeeds in engaging the boat, her cargo will be immediately stored. One of the public boats will be selected and immediately put in good order to ascend the river. A future order will be given on the subject of ammunition and subsistence.

—H. Leavenworth, Colonel Commanding.

Foster to Atkinson

Fort Atkinson, July 8, 1823.

Sir: Since I wrote you at the end of last month, I received a letter from Col. Leavenworth dated on the 4th inst. two miles above Caball Bluffs,[13] informing me that he had the misfortune to lose Lieut. Wickliff's[14] boat, Sergeant Stackpole,[15] and six privates, drowned; he writes in haste, giving no particulars; but says that the principal part of the cargo was saved; that he was

under way and all well; he put that part of the cargo saved on board of the other boats and those of Mr. Pilcher.

I learnt from the two men who were the bearers of the colonel's letter, that the boat broke into two across a snag, of course she must have sunk; the men were from Major Henry, and informed that Gen. Ashley was upon an island, about 100 miles below the Ricara villages. I write hastily by the boat which leaves here today, fearing an erroneous report should reach you.

—Wm. S. Foster, Major U. S. Army.

Gen. Atkinson.

Atkinson to Gaines

Headquarters Right Wing Western Department, St. Louis, August 15, 1823.

Sir: I have received some unofficial information from the expedition under Colonel Leavenworth; as late as the 19th ultimo, by a letter addressed to Colonel O'Fallon from General Ashley, an extract of which is enclosed herewith.

A Mr. Smith, who came down with the proceeds of the trappers and hunters of General Ashley, from the mouth of the Yellowstone, gives also some verbal views, to the following effect, viz: He left the Yellowstone with Mr. Henry, with all the party under him, except twenty men left at the mouth of the Yellowstone—proceeded to join General Ashley at the mouth of the Shyan River. On passing the Ricara village the Ricaras came down on the beach and invited them in a friendly manner, by signs with buffalo robes, to land. Major Henry, knowing the deception they were attempting to practice upon him, for the purpose of getting him in their power, proceeded down the river without holding any intercourse with them.

Mr. Smith informs me that Colonel Leavenworth was progressing on very well and expected to accomplish the object of his movement.

—H. Atkinson,

Brigadier General United States Army.

Maj. Gen. Gaines, &c.

Ashley to O'Fallon

Extract of a letter from General Ashley to Colonel O'Fallon, dated at Fort Brassaux,[16] July 19, 1823:

"I remained at, and in the neighborhood of, the mouth of the Shyanne river until Major Henry joined me. We then concluded that, should troops be sent up the river this year to fight the Ricaras, that they would not ascend until fall, when it would be too late to do anything in our business this year. Accordingly we concluded to drop down to the mouth of the Teton river, and, if possible, purchase as many horses as would enable us to fit out the party intended to be sent to the Columbia. Understanding that the Sioux Indians were in the neighborhood, I came here a few days since to get horses from them. To my great satisfaction on my arrival I was informed of the approach of Colonel Leavenworth with two hundred men. He will pass this place today with his command. I leave here this evening for my camp, which is about one hundred and twenty miles above, and will have things ready to join him with eighty men by the time he reaches that point. Some of the gentlemen of the Missouri Fur Company have joined him with forty men; from four to five hundred Sioux Indians are encamped about twenty miles above this waiting the colonel's arrival, and intend co-operating with him. Our whole force will be about eight hundred men, which will be sufficient to destroy the greater part of the Ricaras, in a very short time after reaching their towns, should they not escape before that time. It is said that they have proposed to the Mandans[17] to permit them to move up and live with them, which it is supposed the Mandans will consent to, but, if so, very contrary to the wishes of the Grosventres.[18]

"—W. H. Ashley."

Leavenworth to O'Fallon

Fort Recovery,[19] July 21, 1823.

Dear Major: Your favor of the 10th inst. I have this moment received, and I assure you, with great pleasure. I was highly gratified that Majors Wooley[20] and Ketchum[21] came on to join us. Mr. Pilcher I have requested to write you fully as to Indian affairs; and he is so much better informed than myself, that I shall leave that subject principally to him. He is, I find, very efficient, and has conducted greatly to my satisfaction.

These Yanctons seem to be zealously determined to co-operate with us, but I have some doubts as to the continuance of their ardor. We have been obliged to make a halt here of three days, to wait for Mr. Pilcher and to repair damages sustained from wind and water. After so many disasters, I am happy to inform you that we are yet efficient, perhaps as much so as when we set out. Our powder was miraculously preserved —several casks, which were under water all night were entirely uninjured. I have borrowed ten rifles of Mr. Pilcher, and can have twenty-three more of Gen. Ashley, but eight only are necessary to complete—powder and lead I can obtain in ample quantities. If the Ricaras and Mandans unite, I shall proceed to the Mandans; and, if they keep the Ricaras in the village, shall attack them. We shall do our best to obtain a victory. The honor of the American arms must be supported at all events. But I can plainly perceive our force is not sufficient to inspire that degree of awe and respect among the Indians which I would wish. We make but a small show, on a large prairie, by the side of 4 or 500 mounted Indians. If we can obtain a fair fight, our superiority will probably be more apparent.

As I have to write on the ground in a heavy wind, I fear you will not be able to read my letter. You will, however, have the goodness to excuse inaccuracies, and my want of time and means to send you a fair copy.

I am, dear sir, truly,
your friend and servant,
—H. Leavenworth,
Colonel, U. S. Army.

Maj. B. O'Fallon.

Pilcher to O'Fallon

Fort Recovery, Upper Missouri, 23d July, 1823.

Dear Sir: From the following extract of a letter from Mr. William Gordon,[22] a young gentleman in the service of the Missouri Fur Company, and attached to our Mountaineers, you will see that they have been defeated and the chiefs of the expedition, Mr. Immel and Mr. Jones,[23] have both been slain. The extracts from Mr. Keemle's[24] letters will show the disposition and feelings of the Mandans and Grosventres, produced by the late success of the Ricaras against General Ashley; and the whole will, I

hope, tend to show the importance of Colonel Leavenworth's expedition against the Ricaras. If protection to the commerce of the Missouri be the object of our government, this would seem to be the accepted time; a decisive blow is indispensible for the safety of every white man on the river above the Council Bluffs,[25] and even to the troops stationed at that post. But I need not dwell upon this subject; you know too well the importance of this movement.

The following is an extract from Mr. Gordon's letter, dated—

Fort Vanderburgh, Mandan and Grosventre's Villages,
June 15, 1823.

Dear Sir: It becomes my unpleasant duty to inform you of the defeat of our party by the Black Foot Indians, and of the dire consequences of the same. After penetrating to the Three Forks of the Missouri early in the spring, although we found that country almost entirely trapt out by the Indians, we had succeeded, by the greatest perseverance, in taking about ——— packs of beaver. On the 16th of May, having reached the Upper Three Forks of R. Jefferson's river, and finding no beaver in that quarter, we commenced a retrograde march for the Yellow Stone. On the second day we fell in with a party of 38 Black Foot Indians. They came up boldly and smoked, and remained with us during that night, making every profession of friendship; and, in the morning, after making them presents of such articles as we could spare, they parted with us apparently well satisfied, having first invited us to come and establish at the mouth of the Maria river, as they said they had been informed was our intention. They were in possession of every information in regard to the two boats being at the mouth of the Yellow Stone, and of their determination to ascend the Missouri to the Falls. This information must have been derived from the British traders, who have most probably instigated them to commit this outrage, and by them, no doubt, from some faithful correspondent at St. Louis. We did not suffer ourselves, however, to be lulled into false ideas of security by their friendly professions, but commenced a direct and precipitate retreat from the country, keeping out strict regard (guard) every night, and using every possible vigilance at all times. This party of 38 had returned to their village, which was very close, and recruited to the number of between 3 and 400 men. These had intercepted us on the Yellow Stone, where they arrived two days before us. They lay in ambush for us on the side of a steep hill, the base of which was washed by the river, along which we had to pursue the intricate windings of a buffalo trace, among rocks, trees, &c. by means of which they had secreted themselves. At this place the men were, of course, much scattered for a considerable distance, as

two horses could not pass abreast. At this unfortunate moment, and under circumstances so disadvantageous, they rushed upon us with the whole force, pouring down from every quarter. Messrs. Immel and Jones both fell early in the engagement. A conflict, thus unequal, could not be long maintained. The result was the loss of five other men killed, four wounded, the entire loss of all our horses and equipage, traps, beaver and everything. The balance of the party succeeded in escaping, by making a raft and crossing the Yellow Stone. This took place on the 31st of May, just below the mountains on the Yellow Stone. Not knowing to what extent the loss of the horses, traps, &c might effect (affect) any future plan of operations I came with all possible expedition to this place, to acquaint you with the circumstance. I left Mr. Keemle and the party near the mouth of Pryor's Fork, making skin canoes to bring down the fall's hunt, amounting to about ———. Four of Mr. Henry's men have also been killed near the falls. It appears from information derived from the Black Feet themselves, that the British have two trading houses in their country on the American territory; and, from some Snake Indians, we learned that they have several on the south fork of the Columbia. Something decisive should be done.

Believe me to be your sincere friend,

William Gordon.

From the foregoing letter, you will perceive that the commerce of the Missouri under existing circumstances, however valuable, is truly precarious. This, our second adventure to the mountains, had surpassed my most sanguine expectations; success had been complete, and my views fulfilled in every respect. Mr. Immel and Mr. Jones had conducted those expeditions with the greatest skill and ability, and proved themselves worthy of my confidence. The loss of property is severely felt, yet it is little, compared to the loss of those valuable men, to whom I stand indebted for the accomplishment of my views. In consequence of their late departure, last summer, from the Council Bluffs, it became necessary for them to confine their operations last fall to the Yellow Stone and its tributary waters, and winter at the mouth of the Big Horn. The party originally consisted of forty-three persons, including themselves and Messrs. Gordon and Keemle, two young gentlemen attached to the expedition, and to whom I am much indebted for their activity in bringing off the remainder of the party, and securing the property of the expedition, which had been left on the Yellow Stone at the time the expedition moved to the three forks early in the spring. The party had been reduced to thirty, including all; a

part of the men having deserted from their wintering post at the Big Horn. With these they penetrated the country as mentioned in Mr. Gordon's letter. I am happy to say their defeat is not to be attributed to negligence, mistaken confidence of their own ability, or the good will of the Indians. Three hours more would have taken them to the Crow nation where they would have been perfectly secure; this tribe being at war with the Black Feet, and much attached to the whites. But the Blackfeet had marked their route; they knew their country and the advantages of the position selected by them for the attack; there they intercepted them and awaited their arrival. Nothing but defeat could be expected under the circumstances, and it is wonderful how any should escape from such an overwhelming force, when attacked in such an unfavorable position. Many circumstances justify the opinions expressed in Mr. Gordon's letter, which I will hereafter relate; time will not allow me to do so at present.

Mr. Keemle arrived at the Mandans in a short time after Mr. Gordon left him on the Yellow Stone, and, in a letter to me, under date of the 10th of the present month, which met me at this place, he expresses himself as follows: "permit me, sir, here to remark, that the present affair with the Ricaras is the subject of daily conversation with the Grosventres and Mandans; and I am of opinion, from many remarks made by the principal men of both nations, that much of the future welfare and interest of the persons engaged in the business of the Missouri, depends much upon the course of conduct pursued towards that band of savage villains." In another letter from him of the 11th instant, conveyed by the same hand, he gives me the following information: "A council was held by the Mandans on the 10th instant, in which they have determined to send for the Ricaras to enter their village, in order to protect them, as they say, from the whites. A singular (similar) proposition was made to the Grosventres by the former nation, but they shut their ears against it." The Aricaras opened fire on the men who came express with these letters, and continued it until they had got beyond their reach, though they did not succeed in hurting either of them. From these circumstances you may suppose that the future conduct and disposition of all those upper tribes, even the Sioux, depend much on the steps taken in relation to

the Aricaras. There are many opinions respecting the course the Aricaras will take. My own impressions are, that they will not abandon their villages, but will await the arrival of the expedition, and give us battle. Many things induce a belief that they will not attempt to go to the Mandans for protection. About twelve days will decide it. The expedition left this place early this morning.

The foregoing circumstances, together with many other causes, will induce me to change the destination of our mountain men this fall. If time would justify the attempt, I would endeavor to push the expedition across the mountains to some of the southern branches of the Columbia, but the season is too far advanced.

I am, dear sir, &c.

—Joshua Pilcher,[26]
A. P. Missouri Fur Company.

Major B. O'Fallon, U. S. Agent for Indian Affairs.

Leavenworth to the Ricaras

Head Quarters, Missouri Legion,
Ricaras Towns, August 14, 1823.

Colonel Leavenworth, commanding the 6th regiment, to the Chiefs and Warriors of the Ricaras nation of Indians, Greeting:

Ricaras:

You see the pipe of peace which you gave to me, in the hands of Mr. Charlonnau,[27] and the flag of the United States.

These will convince you that my heart is not bad. Your villages are in my possession; come back and take them in peace, and you will find everything as you left them. You shall not be hurt if you do not obstruct the road or molest the traders. If you do not come back there are some bad men and some bad Indians who will burn your villages. Come back, and come quickly. Be assured that what I say is the truth.

—H. Leavenworth,
Colonel U. S. Army.

Leavenworth's Orders on Return of Expedition

Head Quarters, 6th Infantry,
Fort Atkinson, 29th August, 1823.

Orders:

The Colonel Commanding is happy to announce to his command, that the objects of the late expedition against the Ricaras Indians have been effected. The blood of our countrymen have been honorably avenged, the Ricaras humbled, and in such a manner as will teach them, and other Indian tribes, to respect the American name and character.

In effecting these objects, the duties which have been performed by every part of the regiment, as well those left at this post, as those who ascended the river, have been arduous in the extreme; but those duties have been performed with a zeal, cheerfulness, and efficiency, which is highly honorable to them, and which entitles them to the approbation of their country.

Where all have done well, and all have been zealous to contribute their whole and entire power to promote the public service, it is as delicate as it is difficult to mention individual instances; but that the combination of circumstances has enabled some to perform more than others, cannot be doubted. The colonel commanding has been highly gratified with the promptness and alacrity manifested by Major Wooley and Brevet Major Ketchum, in joining the expedition, and equally so with their subsequent conduct.

The efficiency of Capt. Armstrong's[28] company, and energies of his men, have been preserved in an eminent degree. The captain has manifested his usual skill in the management of his company, and has given every reason to place the greatest confidence in the physical strength and force of his company; in this respect he has satisfied his commanding officer.

With Captain Riley,[29] the colonel commanding has been highly pleased; he has been skillful, discreet, and successful in the management of his men and the boat, and the public property committed to his charge. His efficiency and promptness in the execution of orders has been conspicuous and highly honorable to him.

Doctor Gale[30] has not only performed his duty to the entire satisfaction of the commandant, but he has done more—he has frequently volunteered his services to perform important duties,

and particularly in saving the property in the large boat when she was sunk by a severe storm at night; he effected much, and in a manner highly gratifying to all who knew the circumstances. Although Lieutenant Wickliffe had the misfortune to lose the boat which was committed to his charge, it has been evident that his zeal for the good of the public service has been equal to that of any other gentleman with the expedition.

In every situation in which Lt. Bradley has been placed, he has given entire satisfaction, and would, no doubt, had he been put to a more severe trial.

To the gentlemen of the staff, generally, the commandant returns his thanks. Lieutenant Cruger[31] has performed the duties of quartermaster and assistant commissary in the most correct and acceptable manner; and, in addition, rendered important service by volunteering his services as an extra adjutant to the Missouri Legion during our operations.

Lieut. Noel,[32] in discharging the duty of Adjutant, has given the most entire satisfaction, and the fullest evidence of his ability to perform still more important service.

It has fallen to the lot of Lieut. Morris[33] to perform the most important duties; and he has done so in a manner which cannot be too highly commended. When our boats were lost, and much of our ammunition either lost or damaged in a great degree, we found it replaced, and well prepared by the activity and attention of Lieut. Morris, and that, too, without delaying the expedition a single hour. The lieutenant's management and direction of the artillery would have done honor to a master of the trade.

The men who were attached to the artillery have deserved notice and the approbation of their country. They have that of the colonel commanding, in a high degree, particularly Sergeants Lathrop and Perkins, the former of whom, with one of the six pounders, made very superior shots.

The colonel commanding cannot dismiss the subject, without again mentioning his very great satisfaction with the gallant and honorable conduct of General Ashley and his brave and hardy little corps of mountaineers. Although for several days entirely destitute of subsistence, they persevered in "noble dar-

ing" without a murmur. The colonel commanding only regrets that he can offer them nothing more substantial than his thanks.

—H. Leavenworth,
Col. Commanding.

Leavenworth's Preliminary Report on Expedition

Head Quarters, 6th Regiment,
Fort Atkinson, August 30, 1823.

Sir: I have the honor to inform you that the troops who lately visited the Ricara towns, returned to this post on the 27th instant.

We arrived before the Ricara towns on the 9th of the present month. The Sioux Indians who were with us, were met by the Ricaras a short distance from their towns, and a skirmish took place between them. The Ricaras maintained their ground, or rather drove the Sioux back, until the regular troops, and General Ashley's men arrived, and formed their line. The Ricaras were then driven immediately into their own town. The Sioux were so much scattered in front of the troops that the latter were unable to deliver their fire without killing some of the Sioux, and therefore did not fire.

Our boats arrived subsequently, during the evening of the 9th, and our artillery was disembarked. On the morning of the 10th Capt. Riley, with a company of riflemen, and Lieut. Bradley, with a company of infantry, were ordered to take possession of a hill above the upper village. They immediately took a position there, within one hundred steps from the town, and in a position which screened them from the fire of the enemy from the towns. At the same moment Lieut. Morris, with one six pounder and a five and one-half brass howitzer, commenced an attack in the lower town. Sergeant Perkins, with one six pounder, was sent to report to Mr. Vanderburgh,[34] of the Missouri Fur Company. This six pounder was placed above the upper village. A brisk fire was continued upon the towns until 3 o'clock in the afternoon. The Sioux were in the mean-time, busily engaged in gathering and carrying off the corn of the Ricaras.

At 8 o'clock, Major Ketchum was also ordered to the upper village with his company. Between 3 and 4 o'clock, the six pounder, and the troops opposed to the upper village, were with-

drawn and our whole force concentrated below the lower village, and the troops ordered to form for the purpose of collecting corn for their own use, as General Ashley's men had then been destitute of provisions for two days.

At this time, a party of Sioux and a party of Ricaras, both on horseback, were discovered holding a parley on the hill beyond the upper town. It was also discovered that the Sioux were going off, though they had given no intimation of an intention to do so. The Ricaras sent out and begged for peace. They said that the first shot from our cannon had killed the celebrated Chief, called "Grey Eyes,"[35] who caused all the mischief, and that we had killed a great many of their people and of their horses. They were evidently very much terrified, and completely humbled. Being convinced of this, and supposing that the government would be better pleased to have those Indians corrected than exterminated, and, as the Sioux, amounting to about seven or eight hundred warriors, had left us in a very strange and unaccountable manner, it was thought best, under all the circumstances of the case, to listen to the solicitations of the Ricaras for peace, especially as it was understood that our round shot were nearly all expended; consequently a treaty was made with them, a copy of which is enclosed. In making this treaty I met with every possible difficulty which it was in the power of the Missouri Fur Company to throw in my way; and, as Mr. Pilcher, their acting partner, had been appointed as special Sub-Agent, to raise the Sioux against the Ricaras, he was able to give me great trouble.

In restoring to General Ashley the property taken, it was thought that the Indians did not perform their engagements on that subject as well as they were able to do, and they were threatened with an attack. Their principal Chief, (The Little Soldier,) came to us, and begged permission to withdraw his family from the village before we attacked, and he gave us the most conclusive evidence of his friendly disposition toward us. It was now late on the afternoon of the 12th. The 10th and 11th having been spent in action and in negotiation and interchanging visits, our men frequenting the towns for the purpose of trading for mockasins, &c., and the Indians manifesting every symptom of having been thoroughly brought to a sense of their

interest and duty, it was concluded to postpone the attack until morning, and the troops were dismissed from parade.

It had been ascertained by me, that the Indians had been so much alarmed by our threatening to again attack them, that they would probably run away and leave their villages. This, it was thought, would have an unfortunate effect upon the Indians, and make them more inclined to commit depredations upon the traders; and, as the Little Soldier soon after sent out for General Ashley a few more buffalo robes, with a message that he could not possibly do more, and begging that we would have pity on them, I sent him word that I would not attack them; that it was not their property that we wanted; to make his people feel safe, and conduct themselves well and they should not be hurt.

Early on the morning of the 13th, we found the Ricaras had left their towns during the night.

Major Ketchum, with his company, and Company E, commanded by Lieut. Bradley and Lieut. Morris, with one six pounder, were ordered to take possession of the towns, and to suffer not the least article to be taken away, or the towns to be injured. A message was sent to call back the Indians, if possible, and induce them to take possession of the towns, but they could not be found. It was evident that our artillery had been served with very great effect. The towns had been completely riddled. We found thirty-one new graves, and we found that several old ones had been opened, and the surface set thick with prickly pears to conceal the new dirt. We know that ten men, who were killed by the Sioux in the skirmish on the 9th, were buried in five graves; and we know also, that more than one was buried in several of the other graves. From the best evidence which we could collect it is supposed that more than fifty of their people were killed, and a great number wounded. Our messengers returned on the evening of the 14th, without having been able to find the Ricaras.

On the morning of the 15th we placed the mother of the late Chief, "Grey Eyes" (an aged and infirm woman, whom they had left in their flight) in one of the principal lodges of the lower village, gave her plenty of provisions and water, and left her in quiet possession of the towns and the property left by the Indians, except some corn, which had been taken for the sub-

sistence of the men. At about 10 o'clock on the morning of the 15th, the troops were embarked to descend the river, and our guard withdrawn, and every soul removed from the villages, except the woman before mentioned. All the boats were got under way nearly at the same time.

Before we were out of sight of the towns, we had the mortification to discover them to be on fire.

There is no doubt that they have been consumed to ashes. Nor is there any doubt but that they were set on fire by one M'Donald, a partner, and one Gordon, a clerk of the Missouri Fur Company.

If the nation has been deprived of the advantages which might have resulted from the magnanimity of her troops towards a fallen and humbled enemy, it is chargeable to that company, or to those individuals who set the towns on fire. Had not this been done, there is no room to doubt but that the Ricara Indians would in future have behaved as well towards our countrymen as any other Indians on the river. It is now my deliberate opinion that those Indians will be excited to further hostilities if in the power of the Missouri Fur Company to effect it. It is understood that the company have withdrawn their trade from above the Sioux country. Not so with Messrs. Ashley and Henry; they have a small number of men and a large amount of property at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, and they were deeply interested in the correction and pacification of the Ricaras. Their zeal and efficiency in aiding to chastise those Indians, was conspicuous and highly honorable, and could have been excelled by nothing but the zeal of the Missouri Fur Company to prevent the pacification of them after they were chastised and humbled into the dust.

We found the Ricara Indians in two villages: the lower one containing seventy-one dirt lodges, and the upper village seventy dirt lodges; each village was enclosed with palisades or pickets, and a ditch; and the greater part of the lodges had a ditch around the bottom on the inside. These works, however, had been represented to be much stronger than we found them to be.

During our operations we sustained no loss in men, and had but two wounded: Hugh Johnson, of Gen. Ashley's command, and Smith, a private of Major Ketchum's company.

Our officers and men have returned in fine health and spirits, and it is well: for those who left here are nearly all sick. Capt. Fowle arrived here with 85 men (recruits) on the 28th instant.

Our spring wheat has done well, and all our crops are very good. No material losses will be sustained by our absence. In ascending the river, we lost one boat, and seven men drowned, and had another boat sunk by a storm. We lost one swivel and some ammunition and some provisions. A particular account of which shall be forwarded, together with a statement of every item of expense.[36]

I have been highly gratified with the officers and men of the regiment, and also with General Ashley, and his command of eighty men, and intend to do myself the honor to make a more detailed and circumstantial account of all our proceedings, and of what was done by each, and hope that what has been done will meet the approbation of our superior officers, and of the government.

I have the honor to be,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—H. Leavenworth,
Colonel, commanding 6th regiment.

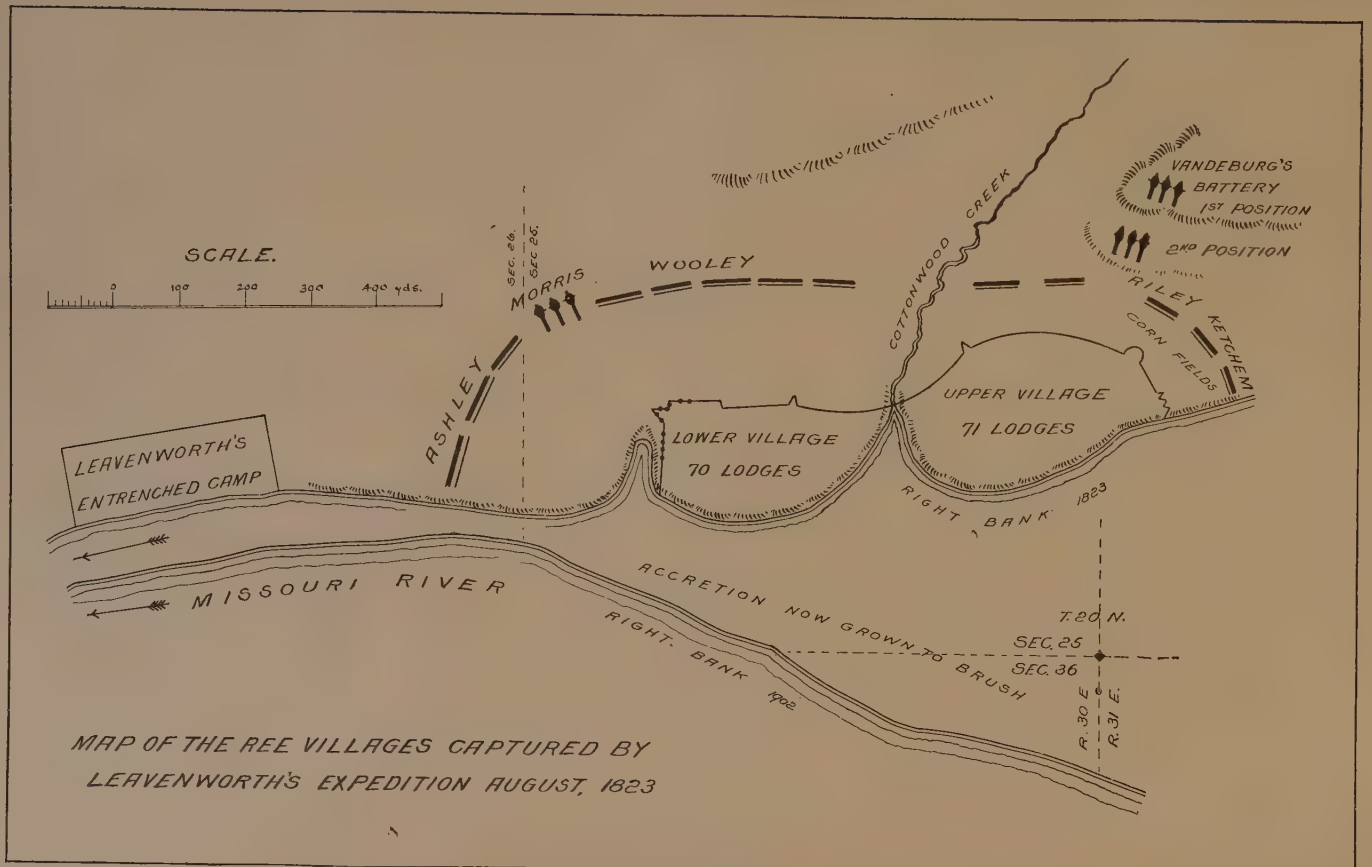
Leavenworth to Atkinson

Fort Atkinson, Sept. 7, 1823.

Dear Sir: I feel it to be a duty to recommend to the particular notice of the government, Captain Riley and First Lieutenant W. W. Morris, for their good conduct and efficiency during the late expedition against the Aricaras.

Captain Riley has done all that any man could do, and, by his skill and good management, saved much of the public property. He has performed every duty in that prompt and soldier-like manner, which is so well calculated to ensure success and honor to our arms, and which has greatly contributed to our success.

His conduct was, also, highly distinguished for gallantry and correctness, during our late war with Great Britain, and undoubtedly merited the approbation of his country. It is hoped and believed, that the government will be happy to take this opportunity to do him justice, in manifesting their approbation



Map of Ree Towns, Showing Leavenworth's Camp and Disposition of His Forces

of his good conduct, by conferring on him the brevet rank of major in their army.

The services of Lieut. Morris were highly important, and they were performed in the best possible manner. His activity and cleverness in preparing our ammunition, greatly contributed to the success of the expedition. In the management of our artillery, he was extremely fortunate. His shots were made with the greatest accuracy and effect. His first shot killed the celebrated and mischievous chief of the Aricara nation, called Grey Eyes; and his second shot cut down the flag of that nation, which they called their Medicine flag, and in which they had great confidence. This had the happiest effect.

The whole of the Lieutenant's conduct, during the expedition, was marked by the greatest skill, promptness and efficiency, and I hope most sincerely, that he may receive evidence of the approbation of the country, in the brevet rank of captain in the army.

Lieutenants Bradley, Cruger and Noel, have deserved well of their country, and it would afford me great pleasure to have them also receive evidence of the approbation of the government; but it was not their good fortune to have an opportunity to render as important services as either Captain Riley or Lieut. Morris.

I have to request that you will be pleased to forward this communication, through the proper channel, to the honorable secretary of war.

Should my intermediate superiors think proper to express their approbation of the measures herein recommended, it would afford me great pleasure to have them do so.

I have the honor to be, Sir, with great respect,

Your obedient servant,

—H. Leavenworth,

Colonel, Commanding 6th Regiment.

To Brig. Gen. H. Atkinson,
Com'g right wing Western Department.

Kirby to Gaines

Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, 10th Oct., 1823.

Sir: I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your

communication of the 21st ult., and its enclosures, detailing the operations of Colonel Leanvenworth's party against the Ricara Indians.

These papers have been submitted to the General in chief, who directs me to express to you his high satisfaction with the success of the expedition, and his approbation of the conduct of Colonel Leavenworth and his officers, to whom he desires you to convey his thanks for the zeal and activity which they have displayed upon this occasion.

The destruction of the Ricara villages is very much to be regretted, as tending to counteract the good effect of the expedition, and on many other accounts; but the general is happy to observe, that neither the commanding officer, nor any part of the troops of the United States, is liable to censure for that occurrence, as it appears to have been the act of the agent of the Missouri Fur Company, who, he is sorry to perceive, so illly seconded the efforts of Colonel Leavenworth to bring the affair to a successful and amicable termination. He is, at the same time, pleased to notice the good understanding and co-operation which existed between General Ashley's party and the troops, which contributed to the successful result.

It is deemed unadvisable to take any further steps at present toward chastising the Black Foot Indians for the outrages which they have committed. The general therefore directs, that, if the six companies of the first infantry on the Missouri have not yet ascended the river, they be posted at Belle Fontaine till further orders, and that the four companies of that regiment at Baton Rouge remain where they are.

Should Colonel Chambers have proceeded to Council Bluffs, he will remain there through the winter.

I have the honor to be, &c.

—E. Kirby,
Aid-de-Camp.

Note.—Your communication to the War Department, of the 22d ult. has been referred to the Major General, who directs me to say, the views contained in the foregoing letter have the sanction of the president.

—E. Kirby.

Maj. Gen. Gaines,
Com. Western Department, U. S. A.

Kirby to Gaines

Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, November 8, 1823.

Sir: I am directed by the General in Chief to inform you, that your communication to the War Department, of the 16th ultimo, has been submitted to the president, who has decided, that, though he highly appreciates the meritorious conduct of the officers engaged in the expedition against the Ricarae Indians, yet, for various considerations, he deems it inexpedient to confer any brevets for services rendered upon that occasion.

I have the honor to be, sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—E. Kirby, Aid-de-Camp.

Major Gen. Gaines,
Commanding Eastern Department U. S. A.
Louisville, Ky.

Leavenworth's Final and Detailed Report

Head Qrs., 6th Regiment,
Fort Atkinson, October 20th, 1823.

Sir:

In addition to my communication dated the 30th August last, I now have the honor to make the following minute and circumstantial report:

On the 18th of June last Major B. O'Fallon, United States Indian Agent at this place, shewed to me a letter, from Genl. Wm. H. Ashley, directed to him, as the Commanding Officer at this post, informing that the Aricara* Indians had attacked his party, at their towns on the Missouri river and had killed fourteen and wounded twelve of his men; and asking for assistance.

It became my duty to decide whether Genl. Ashley should be supported by the United States troops at this post or not.—General Atkinson then in command of the Western Department

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*Note by Colonel Leavenworth. This name has been printed in the excellent journal of Lewis and Clarke Riccara. But as those Indians clearly commence the word with the sound of the vowel A, and pronounce the word as we should if it were written A-ree-ka-ra, I have taken the liberty to add the letter A to the orthography of Messrs. Lewis and Clarke in that word—presuming that letter was omitted in that word by a typographical error.

was at Louisville, Kentucky.—The time which would be required to receive instructions from that place would render it entirely too late to be of any service to Genl. Ashley. And it also appeared to be desirable and proper that whatever was done, should be done promptly.

On my being transferred to the 6th Regiment I had omitted to take a copy of the instructions to the Commanding Officer at this post that were handed to me by Genl. Atkinson, because I believed them to be substantially the same, as I received in 1820, after the establishment of the Military post at St. Peters[37] on the Mississippi in 1819. From those instructions I beg leave to send you the following extracts, viz:—

"I now proceed to give, agreeably to your request, such instructions as appear to me to be necessary for your government, observing however that much must be left to your prudence and discretion in which great confidence is placed.

"The military movement which has been made up the Mississippi under your command, was ordered for the establishment of posts, to effect two great objects—the enlargement and protection of the fur trade, and permanent peace of our North western frontier by securing a decided control over the various tribes of indians in that quarter. These objects will indicate the policy which ought to be pursued. To such of our citizens who may conform to the laws and regulations in relation to Indian trade and intercourse, you will extend kindness and protection. In relation to foreign traders who by the Act of Congress are entirely excluded, your conduct in the first instance must be governed by a sound discretion, to be exercised in each case. No decisive step ought perhaps, to be taken untill your posts are fully established and you feel yourself secure against the effects of hostilities, at which time notice ought to be given that after a fixed period you will rigidly exclude all trade by foreigners and such as are not authorized by law.

"Of the two great objects in view, the permanent security of our frontier is considered by far the greatest importance and will especially claim your attention. If practicable you will gain the confidence and friendship of all the Indian tribes with whom you may have any intercourse. To prevent hostility on the part of the Indians they ought to be fully impressed with our capacity to avenge any injury which they may offer us, and it is no less

important that they should be equally impressed with our justice and humanity. These points gained your course will be plain and without difficulty.

"The President also directs that you will, whenever you think the public interest will be promoted by it, hold treaties of friendship with the tribes within our limits, in which treaties you will establish such general rules for the intercourse between them and those under your command, and such of our traders or citizens who may visit them, as you may judge expedient. It would be a proper mark of respect for the Indian Agent, and would probably be attended with good effects, if you were to associate him with you in the negotiation whenever it can conveniently be done.

Signed. "J. C. Calhoun."

Such were my instructions while in command on the Mississippi. The objects of the Government evidently being the same on the Missouri river as on the Mississippi, I could not doubt for a moment that it was my duty to move promptly and extend "protection" to Genl. Ashley and to "impress the Indians with our capacity to avenge the injury which they had done us."

Accordingly, on the 22d of June six Companies of the 6th Regt. left this post with three keel boats laden with subsistence for the troops, ammunition, and two six pound cannon. The Companies were Bt. Major Ketchum's commanded by Lt. J. Bradly.—Captains Armstrong and Riley with their respective Light Companies.—Bt. Major Larabee's Company commanded by Lieut. N. J. Crugar, who also did the duties of Asst. Commy. of Subsistence and Qr. Master.—Capt. Gantts' Company commanded by Lt. Wickliff and Company F, commanded by Lt. Morris, who was also in charge of the Ordnance and Ordnance Stores for the expedition.—Lieut. Thomas Noel, Adjutant.—Doctor J. Gale, Surgeon.

To the first boat was assigned the two companies commanded by Capt. Armstrong and Lt. Crugar. To the second the two companies commanded by Capt. Riley and Lieut. Bradly. To the third boat the two companies commanded by Lieuts. Wickliff and Morris.

The Senior Officer in each boat was placed in command of the boat in which he was embarked. Being in ill health, I re-

mained at my quarters until the 23d, when I joined my command about six miles from this place by land and fifteen by water.

The river being very high, the navigation was exceedingly difficult and hazardous. The cordelle was the only means by which the boats could be propelled, and to do this the men were obliged to be continually in the mud and water.

The boats were so heavily laden that it was with some difficulty that all the men could be embarked even to cross the river, notwithstanding we had put nine barrels of pork into the small barge used here as a ferry boat and manned her with a sergeant and twelve men. This small boat we found very useful on many occcasions.

All the men not required to navigate the boats were (the first day) placed under command of Lieuts. Bradly and Morris and marched by land. The river bottoms were so much inundated that those gentlemen and their men were frequently compelled to swim and wade through the water waist deep.

The expedition this day, under the direction of Capt. Armstrong, made ten miles and encamped on the left bank of the river.

On the 23d the small boat filled in passing some drift wood, owing to the strength of the current. By the good management of crew and the prompt assistance rendered by Capt. Riley and Lt. Wickliff everything was saved.

On the 27th, Mr. Pilcher overtook us with two boats, and encamped with us. Mr. Pilcher was acting partner of the Missouri Fur Company and had been appointed Special Sub Indian Agent by Major O'Fallon. He had taken on board his boats, at Fort Atkinson, a five and a half inch howitzer and its equipments. This he was good enough to transport to the point of our destination.

On the 1st of July I sent back an express with orders for Major Ketchum to join the expedition as soon as practicable after his arrival at Fort Atkinson.

On the third day of July at about nine o'clock in the morning Lt. Wickliff had the misfortune to lose the boat which had been committed to his charge. The boats were progressing under sail near the right bank of the river, which was thickly covered with timber. The wind was light, and owing to the timber, very unsteady. Lieut. Wickliff wished to lay his boat further out

into the stream for the purpose of obtaining a better wind, and while doing so the wind ceased to blow, and his boat fell back upon a large tree which was under water, as the wind had been blowing against the current it had rendered the water so rough that the wake of this tree had not been discovered.

The consequence was instantly fatal to the boat. She sank and broke into two pieces. Every possible exertion was made to save the lives of the crew. Capt. Riley promptly put his boat about and followed the wreck, which was rapidly drifting down stream along a bend in the river which was full of similar obstructions to that which the boat of Lt. Wickliff had stove. But he had the skill and good fortune to escape them all. He twice threw his cordelle to those on the wreck and made it fast, but it was not sufficiently strong to hold the wreck and immediately broke. Finding it impossible to land the wreck, he sent his best swimmers on shore to save the public property, in which they were very efficient and successful. In the meantime Sergt. Drum and Private Thomas had been sent off with a small skiff to the assistance of the crew on the wreck. They were very efficient and saved the lives of several of the men. They had nearly reached Sergt. Stackpole when he sank to rise no more. The wreck drifted about two or three miles and lodged against the shore.

When the boat sank, the small boat which we called the barge was some distance in advance. We made signals to her, and she returned. We landed her cargo and immediately went in pursuit of the wreck.

We found it as above stated. Took off the mast, sail and rigging and saved everything which was left in it.

The mast and yard we left on shore to be taken home on our return. The public property which Capt. Riley had not taken into his boat was put into the barge and taken up to our remaining boats.

We saved the greatest part of the flour and all the whiskey and lost all the pork which was in the boat. There was no ordnance or ordnance stores in the boat, but we unfortunately lost fifty-seven muskets and bayonets. What was still worse, we found on mustering the crew that we had lost one sergeant and six men. For their names and description I beg leave to refer

you to the Company reports, which I herewith have the honor to send you.

Mr. Pilcher was kind enough to take on board his boats eleven barrels of our provisions, the balance we distributed amongst our own boats and were under way again at five o'clock next morning. During the whole of this troublesome scene I was highly pleased with the efficiency and promptness both of the officers and men. The kindness of Mr. Pilcher in taking some of our cargo was also highly appreciated. As he was short of provisions for his men I let him have two barrels of pork and one barrel of beans. The beans, however, had been wet and I fear were of little use to him. He has never made any charge for transportation; neither has any been made of the pork.

On the 6th of July we met Mr. Pratte[38] with a keel boat which I had loaned to him, to bring down some furs, buffalo robes, etc., but as those articles had been previously sent down by Genl. Ashley's returning boat Mr. Pratte had but very little cargo in the boat. We received the boat of him; and Capt. Armstrong with his company was placed on board. A part of our cargo was taken from the other boats and placed in this boat, and a few days subsequently our provisions which were in Mr. Pilcher's boat were also put into that of Capt. Armstrong.

On the night of the 8th of July we encamped on the right bank of a small slough. We supposed that we had here found a very excellent harbor. But at 10 o'clock at night we were suddenly struck by one of the most severe gales of wind which any of us had ever witnessed. The roaring of the wind was heard but a moment before it struck us. Our fasts on the largest boat (The Yellow Stone Packet) were broken in an instant. The patron of the boat and several of the men were on board. They immediately dropped their anchor, but all was in vain. The anchor was dragged and the boat driven with great violence on a sand bar below us, at the mouth of the slough. When she struck the bar, the masts and deck were carried over board and broken in pieces.

Doctor Gale was the first officer to offer assistance. He took charge of a small party of men and went immediately to the boat, and, although the wind was exceedingly severe and the swell or surf very high, he succeeded in landing a large quantity of the cargo. The timely exertions of Doctor Gale at this crit-

ical moment probably saved us from the mortification of being compelled to return with the expedition. The boat and property would probably have been lost in a few minutes had it not been for his exertions. Lt. Morris was ordered to go with a party in the barge to the assistance of Doctor Gale. Lieut. Morris continued with the men during the remainder of the night at the boat, and saved much of the cargo.

On the ninth at reveille took all the men (except a small number as a guard and to cook) and went to the boat. Found Lieut. Morris and party doing well, but having been long in the water, and the night having been very cold as well as stormy, they were very much chilled.

Again the zeal and efficiency of Doctor Gale was conspicuous. He landed (with the assistance of the men) one of our six pounders, all our lead and nearly all our cannon balls.

All the officers and men were active and efficient and appeared emulous to excel in saving the boat and public property. We found a large tree lying against the boat. This was probably driven by the force of the wind and current against the boat at the commencement of the gale, and which probably drove her from her moorings. The boat being cleared of the cargo and rigging, the officers and men all joined in drawing her on a bar, so as to bring her to the top of the water. She was then soon emptied of the mud and water with which she had been filled, and to our great joy we found that her hull was not injured.

Lieuts. Noel and Morris were directed to open, examine and dry our ammunition. We were highly gratified to learn that many of the musket cartridges and also two barrels of powder were uninjured. We saved considerable flour and all the whiskey; and lost all the pork and also all the supplies of the officers' mess.

We also again had the misfortune to lose a small number of muskets and bayonets.

Capt. Riley was directed to take charge of a party of sailors and riggers to repair sails and rigging. Lt. Bradly of a party to collect, dry and arrange the public property. Lt. Crugar was assigned to the superintendence of the carpenters to repair the boat. I was highly gratified with Corporal Martin, who was at the head of the carpenters. They got the deck of the boat on before retreat.

On the tenth the wind was all day strong and ahead.

On the eleventh we were again under way before sunrise.

At 10 o'clock a. m. on the 19th, we arrived at a trading establishment called by the Indian traders Fort Recovery or sometimes Cedar Fort. We found here a small band of the Sioux Indians called Yanktons[39] and also a small number of the Teton[40] band of the same nation. They were anxious to join us against the Aricaras. I told them that we had men enough, but as those bad Indians were enemies to them as well as to us I was willing they should join us and help to punish them.

We were employed during the 20th and 21st in reorganizing our corps and arming our men, who had been disarmed by our aquatic misfortunes. This was effected by borrowing ten rifles of the Missouri Fur Company and organizing a small corps of artillery. We gave their arms to other men.

The number of our companies was reduced from six to five and one of those armed with rifles, by using our surplus rifles, which were brought for the purpose of hunting and those we borrowed as above mentioned.

We also borrowed twenty or thirty rifles from Genl. Ashley, but had occasion to use but few of them.

The rifle company was placed under the command of Capt. Riley.

Lieut. Morris was assigned to the artillery and the company under his command heretofore, broken up.

While at this place we had an inspection and drill. Also received information that Major Wooley,[41] of the Sixth regiment, and Bt. Major Ketchum,[42] of the same regiment, had arrived at a trading establishment called Fort Kiowa,[43] eight or ten miles above where we lay.

Those gentlemen had left Fort Atkinson immediately after their arrival there, and come by land across the prairies to join us. Their journey at this very hot season of the year was far from being a pleasant one. Their promptness was, however, highly gratifying, and I was much pleased to meet them, as their services were deemed highly necessary.

On the 28th came to where two bands of the Sioux Indians, the Sciones[44] and Ankpapat[45] had pitched their lodges, about two hundred in number. We were invited to feast with them on dog meat, a dish which they considered superior to any other.

We invited them to our camp. A council was held with them. They were informed of the object of our expedition by Mr. Pilcher, and they cheerfully consented and appeared anxious to join us.

During the 31st July and first of August we were detained in waiting for some Sioux Indians who had sent runners to request us to do so, and to say that they were coming to join us. We were also making arrangements to obtain some buffalo meat from the Indians. We obtained on the 1st of August about 2,000 pounds for ten gallons of whiskey.

In the meantime we were busily engaged in organizing our corps and making cartridges. This was highly important, as all our six pound cartridges had been lost or damaged.

Genl. Ashley here made a tender of his services and those of his party, amounting to eighty men. They were divided into two companies. Genl. Ashley nominated his officers and their appointments were confirmed in orders.

They were as follows:

Jedediah Smith,[46] for Captain.
Hiram Scott,[47] do.
Hiram Allen, Lieut.
George C. Jackson,[47-2] do.
Charles Cunningham, Ensign.
Edw. Rose,[48] do.
——— Fleming, Surgeon.
T. Fitzpatrick,[49] Quarter Master.
William Sublett,[50] Major.

Mr. Pilcher, as acting member of the Missouri Fur Company, for himself and party offered me the services of 40 men. These were formed into one Company. Mr. Pilcher was assigned to the command of the Indians with the nominal rank of Major. He nominated his officers and their appointment was confirmed in orders. They were as follows:

——— Vanderburgh,[51] Captain.
Angus McDonald, as Captain for the Indian Command.
——— Carson,[52] as 1st Lieutenant.
——— Gordon,[53], as 2nd Lieut.

It will readily be perceived that none of these gentlemen or their men were amenable to martial law, nor was it in my power or in their own to make them so. It was therefore only upon

their promise to obey orders that I consented to receive their services.

It was clearly understood that their word of honor was pledged to obey my orders. Their appointments were merely nominal and intended only to confer the same privileges and respect on them as was paid to our own officers of the same grade. No nominal rank was conferred on Genl. Ashley, as he was a brigadier general in the militia of the State of Missouri and lieutenant governor of the same. (The forces thus organized, including regular troops, mountaineers, voyageurs and Indians, were styled the Missouri Legion.)

On the third of August we again found on the bank of the river the two bands of Indians before mentioned. The Sciones and Ankpapat. They hailed us and said they "wished us to come to a feast, for they had killed a heap of dogs." Mr. Pilcher and myself went over the river to them. I told their chief, called "The Fire Heart," that our business was to fight, not to eat, and he must excuse me. If he intended to go with us to fight the Aricaras, I wished him to have his lodges struck and move immediately. He said he would do so, but wished to cross the river. We were obliged to cross the two bands in our boats, which detained us the remainder of the day.

On the sixth and seventh of August we were detained by waiting for the arrival of some of our friendly Indians, who were in the rear, and to give an opportunity to the sub-agent to furnish the Indians with powder and balls.

On the 8th we left the boats under the direction of Major Wooley with about ten men to each boat.

The remainder of the troops were disembarked to go by land. As we were now within twenty-five miles of the Aricara villages we endeavored to make such arrangements as to prevent our enemy from discovering our force. Accordingly a small party of Sioux warriors were sent considerably in advance.

Next in our line of march was placed Capt. Riley with his company of rifle men, and Genl. Ashley with his two companies of mountaineers as our principal advance, at a short distance from the remaining companies of the Sixth regiment. The men of the Missouri Fur Company were on board their boats. The remainder of our Indians moved on our flanks, and in our rear, which in all Mr. Pilcher estimated on the 7th of August at 400

warriors, amongst whom were supposed to be 234 fire arms. These estimates are declared to be made upon the statements of the Indians, and not by actual enumeration. Mr. Pilcher estimated those who joined us subsequently at 350 warriors. Number of arms not known, making an Indian force of 750 men.

Allow me to say that up to this time I had been very well satisfied with Mr. Pilcher in every respect, particularly as sub-agent. He had neglected no opportunity to be serviceable to the expedition, but had done everything in his power to ensure its success.

I have understood that it was not intended after the defeat of the party under the late Messrs. Immil and Jones was known, to send the boats of the Missouri Fur Company above their Fort Recovery. From that point to the Aricaras villages they could have had no other object but to co-operate with us, for the service of our Country, and to acquire influence with the Sioux nation. The former object was highly appreciated by me and the latter if it existed, as I really believe it did, I considered as perfectly justifiable as they were engaged in the fur trade with that nation.

Mr. Pilcher had an interpreter who had been for a considerable time in the employment of the Missouri Fur Company, and with whom I had too much reason to be displeased. He no doubt did all in his power to increase the influence and importance of that Company, not only at the expense of other traders but also at that of our expedition.

On the night of the 8th, we encamped about 15 or 16 miles from the Aricara villages and moved forward again early on the morning of the ninth.

During the day we continually received the most strange and contradictory accounts from our Indians. It appeared that there were several Sioux living with the Aricaras and who had intermarried with them. They were sent for, to come out and see their friends who were coming as the Sioux said to smoke and make peace with the Aricaras. Some said that the villages were strongly fortified and furnished with ditches as deep as a man's chin when standing in them. At other times it was said that the Aricaras were so confident that the Sioux were coming to make peace with them that they had taken down all their defences and that there was nothing to defend them but their dirt lodges. Nothing appeared certain but that the Aricaras

were still in their villages. These contradictory stories which were told by the Sioux had the effect to create suspicions of their fidelity. It was also reported (and there was too much reason to believe it true), that the Sciones and Ankpapat who were combined, had determined, in case we were defeated to join the Aricaras.

We arrived at a small stream called Grand River, distant from the villages six or seven miles, at about 12 o'clock. It became necessary to halt, for our forces to close up, and to obtain water, &c.

As our greatest apprehension was, that our enemies (the Aricaras) would run away from us; it was thought advisable to advance rapidly with our Indian forces and surround their villages and prevent them from escaping untill the regular troops and our boats with the artillery could come up. Having determined upon this, I notified it to Mr. Pilcher and directed him to move on with the Indians and his Interpreter. I soon discovered the Indians making a rapid movement to the front, on horse back and I saw the Interpreter amongst them. Supposing that Mr. Pilcher was where he should be, at the head of his corps, I took Lt. Noel with me and followed them. We soon overtook the Interpreter. He was directed to send back an Indian as a guide for our column. He did so, and Lt. Noel went back with the Indian to inform Major Ketchum the purpose for which he was sent.

The Interpreter and myself then pushed forward to gain the front and to check the advance, that the Indians might move more compactly. We gained the front after going about two miles; but I was disappointed in not finding Mr. Pilcher there. I subsequently found that he had halted the Indians nearly a mile (and perhaps more) in the rear—not knowing that I was in front of him. I returned and met them, waited untill our column came up. Being completely disgusted with my Indian allies, I determined to quit them and gave up the idea of advancing with them.

They were directed to move forward and keep upon our right and left flanks. We again moved forward. Our Indians with their Commandant were however soon out of sight of us in advance. Mr. Pilcher soon came to me with an Indian whom he reported to be an Aricara and said that he had delivered him-

self up to him and claimed protection. I dismounted and disarmed this Indian, and placed him under guard and gave his arms to a Sioux who was destitute. It afterwards appeared that Major Pilcher's Aricara prisoner, was a Sioux who belonged to the Major's command. His arms and horse were subsequently returned.

When we had arrived within two or three miles we began to hear firing in front and to meet Sioux returning with captured horses.

The troops were ordered to advance in quickest time. Soon met several Sioux, in succession who urged me to press forward our men. As the men were then moving as rapidly as they could and be efficient when they did arrive, I took no notice of what they said. But we very soon met Mr. Pilcher. He reported that the Aricaras had met the Sioux but a short distance from their villages and that they had not only maintained their ground against the Sioux but had driven the latter back. That it was highly important to press forward one or two Companies to support the Sioux or the consequences would probably be very prejudicial.

Capt. Riley and Genl. Ashley were accordingly ordered to advance with all possible expedition.

Although they had been marching very rapidly for several miles they set out upon a run. It appeared however from the anxiety of Mr. Pilcher that the Sioux were hard pressed and I sent my adjutant (Lt. Noel) to order Capt. Armstrong to advance also with his Light Company. But all the troops being actuated by the same generous ardour there was but little difference in the time of their arrival. Major Ketchum arrived, very soon after Capt. Armstrong with the remainder of the battalion.

We formed our line as follows: Genl. Ashley with his two Companies on the right, and his right resting upon the Missouri river. Next the five Companies of the 6th Rt. commanded by Bt. Major Ketchum with Capt. Armstrong's Light Company on the right and Capt. Riley's Company acting as Riflemen on the left. The line was formed very soon and the men ordered to support arms and advance. They did so. The Sioux were in our front as well as the Aricaras. We therefore could not deliver our fire untill we had passed the Sioux. But as soon as the Indians saw

our line advancing the Aricaras broke from their hiding places. The Sioux fired upon them.

The Aricaras very soon entered their towns. We continued to advance untill within 3 or 400 yards of the villages where we halted to await the arrival of our boats and Artillery. It was said that the Sioux had killed ten of the Aricaras. We saw three or four with their heads—arms—hands—feet and legs cut off. Several Sioux were dragging about in great triumph the hands, feet, legs, or arms of the slain Aricaras by means of a long string or cord.

While we were waiting for our boats Capt. Riley was sent with his Company to engage the enemy and keep them in their towns. This he performed very handsomely. In the meantime the Sioux amused themselves by cutting to pieces the slain Aricaras, and playing over one of the dead bodies what they called "White Bear." This consisted in placing the skin of that animal over the shoulders of a Sioux who walked upon his hands and knees and endeavored to imitate the bear in his motions, by walking around and smelling of the dead body.

Sometimes he would cut off small pieces of flesh and eat them. This ceremony lasted for some time. The Indians requested us not to look at the performer and particularly not to laugh at him, "as it would injure his medicine if we did so."

Major Wooley manifested great zeal in bringing forward our boats. He arrived with them in sufficient season to enable us to disembark our Artillery before sundown. At this late hour in the day, I thought it inadvisable to commence the attack with our Artillery as I had no doubt but that it would have the effect to drive the Indians away under cover of the night. Arrangements were made to commence the attack early on the morning of the tenth.

Capt. Riley and Lt. Bradly with their Companies were ordered to take possession of a hill near the Upper Village. This was promptly done and well done. Capt. Riley took a position with his command within 100 yards of the village, but in such manner as to secure his men from the fire of the enemy while at the same time he had completely the command of the village.

Major Wooley was assigned to the general superintendence of the Artillery and Ordnance and to be assisted by Lt. Morris of the 6th Regiment.

Typical Ree Indian Dwelling

(From picture loaned by Dr. Washington Mathews)

The Companies of the 6th not attached were assigned to the command of Bt. Major Ketchum.

Genl. Ashley's command was again placed upon our right, resting upon the river. Next to them Lieut. Morris with one six pounder and a five and a half inch howitzer, and next the remaining Companies of the 6th Regiment. Our Indian Allies were very much scattered in our rear.

Sergt. Perkins with another six pounder, manned by a detail from the 6th Regt. was directed to co-operate with Mr. Vanderburgh, and sent against the upper village.

The troops having obtainrd their respective stations, the attack was commenced by Lt. Morris with his Artillery.

His first shot killed their celebrated and mischievous Chief called Grey Eyes and the second cut away the staff of their Medicine flag. Major Ketchum with his command was ordered to advance. He did so, until ordered to halt. He was then within three or four hundred yards of the lower village and as the arms of the men had been loaded for considerable time, it was desirable to discharge them. They were accordingly directed to fire at an elevation at the village. I then left this part of my command, to visit that at the upper village. I found Capt. Riley judiciously posted as I have before stated. Mr. Vanderburgh took several positions on the hill by my orders, but we were so near the town or village and so much elevated above it, that many of his shots passed entirely over and lodged in the river. He was finally sent with a six pounder down the hill on the same plain and level upon which the upper village stood. From this position the shots from this piece were more effectual.

From the first minute that our troops had invested the village in such manner as to prevent the Aricaras from coming out, our Sioux had entered the cornfields of our enemy and were busily employed in carrying away the corn.

Early in the day it became evident that our Artillery would not have the effect to drive the enemy from their villages while so many Sioux were ready to cut them to pieces, the instant they did so. This led me to desire a more close examination of their defences, than I had hitherto been able to make. From all the accounts which we had received it appeared that the pickets around the town were respectable, and that they had also deep ditches or intrenchments within those pickets. Genl. Ashley's

men who had been in the towns spoke in this manner of the picketing. The Sioux told us of the ditches, which they said had been dug since the attack on Genl. Ashley. A Mr. McDonald, of whom I have before had occasion to speak, had wintered or remained for some time in those villages, was clearly of the opinion that we could only gain possession of the towns "by saping and Mining," and that the defences were so strong and those Indians so confident in their own strength, that in case we made a charge or assault upon the villages "Even every Squaw would count her coup," by which I suppose he means that every Squaw would kill a man. With a view therefore to ascertain the strength of their fortifications I thought of making an assault upon an acute angle of the upper town, which I could approach within 100 steps under cover of a hill. Accordingly Lt. Noel was sent to order Major Ketchum to advance with his Company, to join the forces which we already had at the upper village, and to bring with him axes to cut away the pickets. Genl. Ashley with his command was also ordered to advance. He did so in the most gallant manner.

He promptly took possession of a ravine within twenty steps of the enemies lower town, and maintained a spirited action with them, which was well calculated to assist us in our design upon the upper town, by making a diversion in our favor.

But when all other things were ready I was mortified exceedingly to learn from Mr. Pilcher that no assistance could be obtained from the Sioux in consequence of their being so deeply engaged in gathering corn though I only wished for them in case the Aricaras should come out of their villages. And this was not all. It was my intention to have assaulted the village and cut away the picketing, more for the purpose of ascertaining their strength and the depth of their intrenchments than for any other purpose, and then to have fallen back again under cover of the hill.

I had too much reason to apprehend, that, in case the Sioux saw us falling back behind the hill, they would suppose, that we were beaten and probably join the Aricaras in attacking us. It was also the opinion of some of my best officers that a charge at that time and place would not be proper. I therefore gave up my idea of making a charge, and went with Lt. Cruger across the Enemy's cornfields to the river for the purpose of examining

the rear or river side of the towns, and also to examine some preparations which it was said that the Aricaras had made, to leave their towns, by loading skin canoes with corn, &c.

While returning I discovered that some of the Aricaras had come out of the villages and had placed themselves in a ravine near the upper town and had opened a galling fire upon our men on the hill. I sent for Major Ketchum to advance with his Company and also with that commanded by Lieut. Bradly. The Major very promptly took a good position near the town,—drove the enemy from the ravine and it is believed did some execution.

I then went upon the hill where I found Mr. Pilcher with his boatmen laying in a hollow behind a part of the hill. He informed me that in his opinion nothing would arouse the Sioux but the concentration of our forces, and such a disposition of them, as would lead the Sioux "to believe that something great was about to be done." I told him that I intended to concentrate our forces, before the lower town, but intended in the first place to try a strategem. He replied that strategems "were no doubt justifiable towards those people" and asked me what it was. I told him that I had thought of sending Simoneau, my Aricara interpreter, to hail those Indians and tell them that they were fools that they did not come out and speak to the whites, and that if they would do so it would afford us an opportunity to examine their works. He replied that "it could do no harm at any rate." Simoneau was called, but as he could not understand English and I could not speak French, one of Mr. Pilcher's men was called to interpret for me. He was directed to tell Simoneau to go as near the village as he could with safety and hail the Aricaras and tell them that they were fools not to come out, and speak to the whites. But to be careful not to speak in my name, or that of Mr. Pilcher and that he should be careful to say precisely what I had told him to say and no more. To watch the effect of this, I went with Simoneau, and when he had got near the top of the hill, he hailed the Aricaras twice. He then turned and spoke to me in French. I asked one of my soldiers who spoke and understood the french language well, (and who was by the side of Simoneau), what it was that he said.

The soldier replied, that, Simoneau said the wind blew so

hard that he couldn't make the Aricaras hear him. I told the soldier to tell Simoneau that it was a matter of no consequence, and that I did not wish him to try again to make them hear. Simoneau immediately came away and I returned to the troops before the lower town. Lt. Morris was throwing shells with his howitzer, and Sergt. Lathrope was firing the six pounder at the lower village, both pieces were well served, and most excellent shots made with them. As it was not my intention to make a charge immediately owing to the scattered situation of the Sioux, Genl. Ashley was ordered to fall back with his Command nearly in line with the remainder of the troops. A short time subsequently to this period, I inquired of Lieut. Morris how many round shot he had yet left. He informed me that there were but thirteen exclusive of those at Sergt. Perkin's gun at the upper village. It subsequently appeared that he Sergt. Perkins had twenty-six. I informed the Lieut. that, we should need the balance of our ammunition in making an assault upon the villages, and directed him to cease firing immediately. I had previously directed the Sioux to be informed that we were about to withdraw our troops from the upper village, that they might leave the Aricara corn fields in sufficient season, to save their struggles from the tomahawks of the Aricaras. They were notified and did withdraw.

A Staff officer (Lt. Noel) was then sent to order Major Ketchum with his command and the other troops to return to the lower village, and join the other troops there. The troops opposed to the lower village were directed to fall back to our camp opposite to our boats, which was about 7 or 800 yards from the lower village. It was then between three and four o'clock.

Orders were given to Senior Officers of Corps to have their men obtain some refreshment, as soon as possible, and then to form their corps to march to the enemies' cornfields to obtain some corn for the subsistence of our men, several of whom and particularly Genl. Ashley's command had not had any provisions for two days. Having given these orders and having the greatest confidence in Major Ketchum and all the officers and men with him and feeling very confident that the enemy would not do us the favour to make a sortie upon our men while returning to our camp, I retired to the cabin of my boat.

Very soon afterwards, Mr. Pilcher came into my cabin and

apparently with great alarm informed me that Capt. Riley was attacked. I was very glad to hear it, and immediately went out to send him support. But behold! Capt. Riley and all our men were very quietly coming in without the least knowledge of any attack being made upon them. But there were some Sioux and some Aricaras on horse back on the hill opposite the upper village apparently holding a parley. Mr. Pilcher remarked that this report was unfortunately too much like the case of his Aricara prisoner.

I directed arrangements for marching to the cornfields to be hurried and returned to my boat.

In a short time I returned to the encampment on the bank and went to speak with Genl. Ashley on the subject of our intended movement.

We all knew the Sioux had obtained a large and full supply of corn, and I knew no reason why they should not continue with us at least one day, after we had tried the effect of our artillery. I had made them no promise; nor had I authorized any other promises than what the Sub-Agent had made. The extent of these were that they might have all horses or other property which they could take. It was therefore my intention to obtain subsistence for our men. Make arrangements to prevent the enemy from escaping during the night and the next day to gain possession of the towns.

But while conversing with Genl. Ashley I heard and saw a Sioux and an Aricara holding a conversation on the plain in front of the villages. I sent for Mr. Pilcher and told him that the Sioux and Aricaras were holding a parley, and that I wished him to go and see to it. He moved off with his interpreter in that direction.

On casting my eye upon the hills in our rear I discovered that they were covered with the retreating Sioux and soon had reason to know that they were all going off. I immediately mounted my horse and went after Mr. Pilcher to be present at the parley with the Sioux and Aricara.

We halted, and after some few preliminary motions the Aricara advanced. I directed the interpreter to ask him what he wanted. I was told that he said that the Aricaras wished us to have pity upon their women and children and not to fire upon them any more.

That we had killed the man who had done all the mischief and who had caused both us and themselves so much trouble. He wished we would permit the Chiefs to come out and speak to us and make peace, it was the wish of the whole nation for we had killed a great many of their people and of their horses. I directed the Interpreter to tell him to go back and inform his Chiefs that if they were sincerely disposed for peace, I should expect to see the Chiefs come out immediately, to speak to us, and that we would meet them and tell them on what terms we would make peace. We then returned to our boats and the Indian went into the village. In a short time afterwards several Aricaras, I think ten or twelve, were seen approaching cautionsly toward our camp. I invited the Senior Officers of my command, the Gentlemen of my Staff and Mr. Pilcher to go with me and meet them. We did so. They appeared to be very much terrified.

They told us the same that the other Indians had before told us, and in addition said "do with us as you please, but do not fire any more guns at us. We are all in tears."

I told them that they must make up the losses of Genl. Ashley and behave well in future and to make me certain that they would do so, they must give me five of their principal men as security or hostages.

They replied that they would restore every thing they could. Their horses had been taken by the Sioux, and killed in great numbers. They had not horses to give but they would return all the guns they could find and the articles of property which they received from Genl. Ashley. Even to the hats. I addressed them and briefly told them in substance that they had yet seen but a small specimen of the power of the Americans. That they were all in our power, but that we did not wish to hurt them if they would behave well. That it was the wish of the people and of the Government of the United States to be at peace with all the red skins. And if they should behave badly any more they might expect to be more severely punished than they ever yet had been.

They repeated the terms before stated and offered to let five of their number go with us as hostages. Considering my small force—the strange and unaccountable conduct of the Sioux and even the great probability of their joining the Aricaras against

us. And also considering the importance of saving to our Country the expense and trouble of a long Indian war fare; and the importance of securing the safety of the Indian trade, I thought proper to accept the terms. The pipe of peace was accordingly lighted—it passed round very well, untill it came to Mr. Pilcher, he refused to smoke. He also refused to shake hands with the Indians, but got up and walked back and forth with much agitation and at last said to the Indians, "That War Chief has said you shall be safe, and you shall be so, But tomorrow I will speak to you." He however, last said, that, as it was my wish, that he should smoke, he would do so, but not as evidence of his assent to the peace or something to this effect. His whole manner was such as to have a very unfavorable effect upon the Indians, especially as his Interpreter (one Collin Campbell) had told the Indians, that Mr. Pilcher was the principal, or first chief of our Expedition.

After smoking, and selecting from those present (and who by the bye, were said, by those best acquainted with them to be the principal Chiefs and men of their nation) the five hostages to go with us; and whom I intended to take with me to Fort Atkinson, we arose to return to our boats. The Indians had brought ten or twelve buffaloe robes as a present to us. My Interpreter Simoneau, attempted to carry them, but could not take all of them. The Indians who were going with us, took up the balance, and we moved on. But several of the officers had by this time advanced several yards from me. I believe Lieuts. Crugar and Noel were only near me.

As we were walking along, Campbell, (the Interpreter) was conversing continually with one of the Aricaras who understood and spoke Sioux. I have but little knowledge of the Sioux tongue, but can understand some words and I understood Campbell to tell the Aricara that the "heart of the big Chief (meaning Mr. Pilcher) was bad, very bad," meaning that Mr. Pilcher was very much displeased, and in fact the Indian did not stand in need of Campbell's information to know this, it was apparent from his looks and actions. Campbell, continually kept his thumb on the cock of his rifle. He also snatched a pipe tomahawk from one of the Indians, and threw it to the rear. This, together with the circumstance of coming to the body of one of the Aricaras who had been killed by the Sioux and most shock-

ingly mangled and stuck full of arrows (being the same over which the Sioux played "White bear" on the 8th) and also seeing our men standing by their arms, they became alarmed, and stopped. I endeavored to convince them, that they should not be hurt, if they would go with us, but all was in vain.

They said that Campbell had told them that it was our intention to get them into our possession and then kill them. From their apparent fear and trembling, I have no doubt but that they believed it. It became impossible to make them advance. They said they would come to us early in the morning, and they threw down the buffaloe robes and turned back. I told the Interpreter to tell them to take up the robes and carry them back to their villages, if they would not do as they had agreed to do, to take back the robes, and then there would be no peace and we should be as we were before we smoked, but they would not take back the robes. I told the Interpreter to let them go and come along. Campbell cocked his rifle and said "Col. I will kill one of them fellows." I positively forbid him from firing upon them. They were unarmed and had also placed themselves under our protection and had come out of their village under a promise of safety. Campbell soon repeated what he had before said. I again in a loud voice, in fact as loud as I well could speak, firmly forbid Campbell and ordered him not to fire.

At that moment Mr. Pilcher as I have since been informed was telling Doctor Gale that he would not be surprised to see those Indians seize the Colonel and drag him away to the villages. The Doctor accordingly fired his pistol at them, and Mr. Pilcher ordered Campbell to fire, he did fire, as did also Mr. Vanderburgh. These shots were all fired in very quick succession, and were as quickly returned by the Indians. We parted in a hurry. The shots of the Indians fortunately did no injury. One ball touched Mr. Pilcher but I understood that it did him no material injury. The Indians returned to their villages and we to our camp. Nothing further was done untill the next day. It was now ascertained, that the Sioux had all gone away, and that they had taken off six mules belonging to the Qr. Master's Department and also six or seven of Genl. Ashley's horses. The conduct of those Indians, had been so strange and unaccountable that the general opinion amongst the Officers appeared to be that they had come to an understanding with the Aricaras, and

that they intended to make a joint attack upon us, during the night. We took our measures accordingly. We partially entrenched ourselves on the edge of the river bank. Our position was then a strong one. I will forbear to make any comments as to the unpleasant manner in which our negotiations were broken off. I have stated the facts, they speak for themselves.

On the morning of the eleventh, I saw the first chief, called Little Soldier, coming from the village and sent my Interpreter to meet him. A short time afterwards I saw Mr. Pilcher's Interpreter (Campbell) coming up the bank from Mr. Pilcher's boats and ran with his rifle in his hand, toward the Little Soldier. As I had been informed that Campbell had boasted of firing upon the Indians and breaking the treaty, I hailed him, and ordered him to stop. He appeared not inclined to obey me. I therefore ordered one of my sentinels to fire upon him, if he did not return. He then came back and was placed under guard, where he continued untill we left the place. I then met the Little Soldier. He enquired of me what the white people intended by firing upon them, so soon after smoking and making peace. I told him that it had been done contrary to my orders. He said that his people were very much alarmed at the circumstance and believed that what they had heard as to our intention of killing them, if we got them into our possession was true.

He also enquired if the other chief (meaning Mr. Pilcher) would make peace. I told him he would do so. That he was subject to my order for he had promised to obey me, and that I had authority, and the power to make all the men with me either fight or make peace. He said he would endeavor to have the chiefs and his principal men come out again and smoke and hear my words, and that he should be very glad to have some of our Chiefs and soldiers come into their villages, as his people were very much alarmed. Previous to this, I had not found any one willing to go into the villages except a man by the name of Rose, who held the nominal rank of Ensign in Genl. Ashley's volunteers. He appeared to be a brave and enterprising man and was well acquainted with those Indians. He had resided for about three years with them. Understood their language and they were much attached to him. He was with Genl. Ashley when he was attacked. The Indians at that time called to him to take care of himself, before they fired upon Genl. Ashley's

party. This was all I knew of this man. Have since heard that he was not of good character. Every thing he told us however was fully corroborated. He was perfectly willing to go into their villages and did go in, several times. He fully confirmed everything which the Indians had told us. He said they had been severely whipped and were the most humble beings on earth, but they were so much afraid of us, that they dare not come into our camp.

On my stating to Doctor Gale and to Lt. Morris what the Little Soldier had said in relation to having some of us visit the village, the Doctor and Lieut. immediately asked permission to go there, which was granted very cheerfully, and I requested them to go immediately and inform me on their return what they should discover. Doctor Gale has made to me the following report:

Camp near the Aricara villages,
August, 1823.

Sir:

In compliance with your request Lt. Morris and myself, accompanied by an Interpreter, have just visited the Aricara towns. The Little Soldier met us near the pickets and invited us to his Lodges and treated us with much hospitality. During our stay all the warriors of the village collected at the Lodge and seated themselves about us, they all appeared very melancholy. They had just finished burying their dead many of whom had layed exposed two days. I enquired of the Chief why he did not go out with his principal men and shake hands with the American Chief; since he had begged for peace, and it had been granted to him. He replied that, "His young men were like frightened deer, that they had been flogged with whips of which they had heretofore no knowledge, and such as they supposed the Great Spirit alone had power to punish them with; but since we soldiers had visited him, he would have no apprehension in visiting us. On parting with him, he shook us by the hand and said, he had understood that we were hungry and requested us to send some of our small boats opposite the village and he would have them loaded with such articles as we required, for our subsistence and that he would return with them in Company with some of his Warriors to our camp.

I am respectfully, Sir,
Your obedient servant,
John Gale,
Surg. U. S. A.

Col. Leavenworth,
Commg.

We were very short of provisions, but I did not think proper to send a boat at that time, but sent a message to the Little Soldier that they must come to our boats and see us without delay if he wished for peace. In the meantime I discovered by conversation with those who had been to the villages, and there were several who had now been there, that the towns were not so strongly fortified as we had been informed. That the pickets were very frail, and that they had but slight ditches on the inside. It appeared that the dirt lodges were the most formidable defences which they had. Several Indians soon arrived who said that they were sent by the Chiefs to assure us of their disposition to adhere to, and maintain the peace which had been made. But as they were not themselves Chiefs I declined to confer with them, but referred them to Major Wooley. He consented to go with them to their villages (while one of their number remained with us), to ascertain who the principal Chiefs were, and if they were seriously inclined to make a peace in good faith or not.

The Major soon returned and reported that, he was fully satisfied that they were acting with good faith. That they had been evidently severely flogged and humbled, and were anxious to make with us a permanent peace. He had seen all the principal men, and had made an arrangement with them that all their principal men, (except one, who was to be represented on the occasion by his brother), and one who was wounded for whom his son acted, should meet the American Officers in front of our camp, and sign a treaty. In compliance with the spirit of my instruction I then applied to Mr. Pilcher as Sub-Agent to assist in making the treaty. To draft it, &c—he declined. Major Henry who was with General Ashley had also been appointed a special sub-agent by Major O'Fallon and I, therefore, gave him the same invitation. He politely replied that it was a matter in which he felt himself wholly incompetent to act as his powers were for a special purpose. I then drew the treaty myself. The Indians were ready to sign it. It was signed in the presence of the officers who witnessed it. A copy of this treaty I have heretofore had the honor to send you.

It is proper, however, to remark here that the substance of the treaty was that they should restore to General Ashley as far as possible the articles of property taken and not in future ob-

struct the navigation of the river but treat the Americans as friends wherever they might meet them.

An unrestrained intercourse was immediately opened between our camp and the villages. The Indians in the meantime had buried their dead and began to look more cheerful.

We were supplied with plenty of corn and other vegetables. These they offered to give us, and said we had conquered them and they were ours but we choose to make them some compensation.—Although they said they did not expect any.—We asked them what articles would be most acceptable to them. They replied that if we were pleased to give their women any trifles to please them for bringing the corn to the boats we might do so. Copies of the treaty were sent by my Adjutant to Mr. Pilcher and to Major Henry, they being Sub-Agents.

From Mr. Pilcher I received the following note:

Camp near the Aricara Villages,
13th Augt. 1823.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a paper transmitted to me last evening by Lieut. Noel, your Adjt. entitled a treaty of peace between the Aricara nation and the United States. Notwithstanding I have declined any participation in this business and have been opposed to it upon several grounds which it is not necessary here to mention, I still think it proper to inform you that neither of the principal Chiefs of the Aricara Nation have signed that paper, and if I have been correct-informed were not present at the meeting when the paper was signed.

I have the honor to be, &c.
Joshua Pilcher.

On this subject I had taken some trouble to ascertain who were the Chiefs, and from the information of those who had been acquainted with those Indians for many years and who know almost every individual, I was fully satisfied that Major Wooley had not been mistaken and that every Chief or principal man of both villages had signed the treaty except one who had always been considered as the first soldier of the late Chief Grey Eyes and who was now considered no better than a dog in their villages.

It now became necessary to see that our new friends fulfilled their stipulations as to Genl. Ashley, and they were called upon to do so. They delivered to the Genl. three rifles, one horse and

sixteen buffaloe robes and said that it was all they could do for him. They were told that it was not enough, and that they must go back to their villages and tell their people to come forward and remunerate Genl. Ashley or that we should again attack them.

They said they would do so. And went to the villages for that purpose. I must here remark that as Mr. Pilcher had declined any participation in making the treaty, he and others of the Company to which he belonged appeared to think that they were not bound by it, and therefore would not shake hands with any of the Chiefs at which the Little Soldier and others expressed much mortification. They also became suspicious that we were not sincere in our professions of peace. They were afraid to give up their horses to remunerate Genl. Ashley, and they were apprehensive that we intended to again attack them and that they would need them to assist in making their escape. Mr. Rose informed me that their women were packing up evidently for the purpose of going off. He said they had again become exceedingly alarmed. The least unusual noise in our camp and particularly our martial music which they had not before heard terrified them greatly.

The Little Soldier returned to our boats late in the afternoon of the 12th. He was very much agitated and exhausted and fainted almost as soon as he entered my cabin. Our Surgeon soon restored him. When he had sufficiently recovered to be able to speak, he expressed deep regret that hostilities should again occur. But it was impossible to do anything more for Genl. Ashley. He said that it was the people of the lower village who had done the mischief to Genl. Ashley, and that the Sioux had carried away many of their horses and the rest we had killed. That the people of the upper village would not give up their horses to pay for the mischief which the Chief Grey Eyes of the lower village had done, and that they were all of them so much alarmed that it was very difficult for him to prevent them from running away from the villages. He also said that he had always been the friend of the Americans, that he had told Genl. Ashley the truth and given him notice that the Indians would attack him. That he had lost his son in the fight, but he was willing to forget him, as the Grey Eyes had been killled, who had been the cause of all the mischief. If it was our inten-

tion to again attack them he hoped we would let him remain with us. He told us where we could post our Artillery to good advantage, and he told us correctly. He said we must be careful to fire low and that our artillery would cut them all to pieces, and it would therefore be unnecessary to give the Indians a chance to kill even one of our men.

My officers generally and all the men were anxious to charge upon the towns. There had been much said as to the feelings of the Indians. Some said that they had not been humbled. Others thought that they had. Mr. Pilcher and all his party had thrown their whole weight against the treaty. The troops were under arms. I felt that my situation was a disagreeable and unpleasant one. It appeared to me that my reputation and the honor and brilliancy of the expedition required that I should gratify my troops and make a charge. But I also thought that sound policy and the interest of my Country required that I should not.

My Command was small. We were short of provisions, and although Lieut. Morris had found some round shot of which he did not know when he before reported that he had but thirteen, yet we had but 120 round shot and 25 stands of grape. If we succeeded in our charge, all that we could expect was to drive the Indians from their villages and perhaps kill a few more of them. The remainder would be left in the Country in a confirmed state of hostility to every white man. We could not expect to overtake them nor had we provisions sufficient to enable us to pursue them.

For my own part I felt confident that the Indians had been sufficiently humbled "fully to convince them of our ability to punish any injury they might do us," and that they would behave well in future, if we left them undisturbed in their villages. Genl. Ashley's boat could, then, I had no doubt, proceed without molestation, to the mouth of the Yellow Stone river, agreeably to his wishes. The trade and navigation of the river would be restored and probably a long and expensive Indian war avoided.

I also felt satisfied that the blood of our Countrymen had been avenged and I also felt an unwillingness to re-commence hostilities on account of the articles of property.

Genl. Ashley I well knew regarded not the property. It was

the principle. The question was:—had the Indians been sufficiently humbled and taught to fear and respect us.

On me lay the responsibility of decision.

The Little Soldier had asked us to postpone our attack untill the next morning that he might in the meantime bring out his family.

On this subject I thought it advisable under all the circumstances to take the opinions of Major Wooley, Genl. Ashley and Mr. Pilcher.

Major Wooley's opinion was against a postponement. Genl. Ashley and Mr. Pilcher in favour of it. I was determined to postpone the attack and directed the troops to be dismissed.

The Little Soldier was dismissed and sent to his village. Mr. Rose went with him. I told the Little Soldier to make one more effort to save his people. That it was not their property that we cared so much about as it was to have them keep their word with us, and behave well in future.

After a little while he came out with Mr. Rose and brought a few more buffaloe robes. He said they had no more, that they had taken these off their backs, and could not possibly do more and begged that we would now have pity on them.

Mr. Rose now informed me that the Indians were in great distress and alarm and that there was no doubt that they would leave their villages in the course of the night. I told him to go immediately to the village and tell the Little Soldier that we had concluded to be satisfied, and that we were so. We would not attack them.

To calm the fears of his people and tell them that as long as they behaved well towards the Americans they need not be afraid of us. He went to the villages with this message, and without my knowledge or consent carried a piece of white cloth on a stick. He afterwards told me that it was a signal which he had promised to give them in case I determined not to attack them.

Early on the morning of the 13th we discovered that the Indians had abandoned their villages and gone off during the night.

The facts which subsequently transpired I have stated in my communication of the 30th of August last and to which I beg leave to refer you.

If in the transaction of this business I have committed errors, as may be very probable, I can only say, that, my duties were intricate and difficult, and I beg you to believe that my sole object was to do that which was most for the honor and advantage of our Country.

Allow me to say further that with the conduct of Mr. Pilcher I was generally satisfied up to the commencement of our negotiations with the Aricaras. On that subject, I regret to say that he appeared to be influenced by some secret and hidden cause, of which I had no knowledge, and to entertain very erroneous ideas as to my powers and duties, as well as his own. If, however, my orders had not been violated (by a member and a clerk of the Company in which he was acting partner and for whose obedience to orders he was responsible), by setting fire to the Aricara Villages I should not have troubled you with any remarks on the subject. It is impossible for me to suppose that those men took that measure without consulting their Agent and obtaining his approbation and consent.

If my policy was wrong in leaving the villages standing, I was responsible to my superior officers and to my Country.

If my policy was correct, the Country should not have been deprived of the advantages of it, by the unauthorized act of Indian traders. It will be impossible for the military force of our Country to preserve peace between the Indians and our Citizens, (and there is nothing else to do it) if traders or citizens can with impunity burn the villages and towns of Indians whenever they choose to do so.

And yet I believe there is no law on the subject, by which such acts can be punished.

The knowledge of this fact alone prevented me from taking such measures on the subject as would readily have occurred to the mind of every military man.

In my former communications whenever I had occasion to mention the Missouri Fur Company, I wish that it may be distinctly understood that I have alluded only to those members of that Company whom I have had occasion to name in this report.

Lieut. Crugar acting Asst. Qr. Master has reported to me the expense of the Expedition as follows:—

For the purchase of Gun powder, Cordage, &c, &c.....	$473.24
" Hire of a Keel boat, Patroons and Boatmen.....	1515.00
" Damage done the Keel boat (by a storm).....	50.00
	$2038.24

A considerable quantity of the powder which was purchased is still on hand. The above sum of $2038.24 is therefore more than the actual expenses. The accounts have been all made and will be forwarded to the proper Departments by the next express.

In the Subsistence Department we lost some provisions, but we obtained by hunting and purchase as much as we lost, so that in that Department the Government have sustained very little if any loss.

Major O'Fallon authorized Mr. Pilcher to make some expenditures to Indians. To how much they amounted I am not informed. Probably not to a large amount.

Major Henry as Sub-Agent was good enough to consent to employ messengers at my request to send after the Aricaras. How much he expended for that purpose I am unable to say.

Herewith I have the honor to send you copies of the Orders issued during the Expedition and also reports as to the men lost and wounded.

With sentiments of the highest respect,
I have the honor to be,
Your obt. Servt.

H. Leavenworth,
Col. Comd'g 6 Regt.

Brigr. Genl.
H. Atkinson,
Commg. R. Wing W. Dept.

Consolidated Return of Men Lost and Wounded on the Late Expedition Against the Aricaras

1. Samuel Stackpole, sergeant; age 27; born, New Hampshire; enlisted at Fort Atkinson, by Lt. Palmer, 2d Novr., 1822; drowned 3d July. Very good soldier.
2. Andrew Viancore, drummer; age 18; born, Mich'n Tery.; enlisted at Fort Osage, by Lt. Pentland, 10 Aug., 1819; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
3. Isaac Frew, private; age 27; born Chester county, Penna.; enlisted at Fort Atkinson, by Lt. Palmer, 15 Aug., 1822; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
4. Jacob Wycold, private; age 28; born York county, Penna.; enlisted at Fort Atkinson, by Lt. Palmer, 20 Novr., 1822; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.

5. Philip Heavil, private; age 29; born Philadelphia county, Penna.; enlisted at Fort Crawford, by Capt. Armstrong, 1 Feby., 1819; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
6. Hugh Patton, private; age 30; born Franklin county, Penna.; enlisted at Martin Cant., by Lt. Fields, 7 March, 1819; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
7. Richard Smith, private; age 32; born, Maryland; enlisted at Pittsburgh, by Lt. McCabe, 2 Octr., 1818; a gunshot wound in the face, 10th Aug. G. S.
8. Patrick McNulty, private; age 31; born Franklin county, Penna.; enlisted at St. Louis by Lt. Lowe, 3 March, 1820; drowned 3d July. Good soldier.
9. George Lemasters, private; age 25; born Mason county, Virginia; enlisted at Newport, Ky., by Capt. Armstrong, 14 Feby., 1820; fracture of the left leg. A very good soldier.

A CRITICISM OF LEAVENWORTH*

The following is the view of Capt. Chittenden upon the Ree war as a military exploit:

In the operations before the Aricara village the whites lost none in killed and but two slightly wounded. The Sioux lost two killed and seven wounded in the attack of the 9th. The loss of the keel boat, with its property and crew, on the way up the river, was the one serious disaster of the expedition—a very serious one indeed—but, so far as is known, wholly accidental.

*Recognizing fully the authority of Captain Chittenden, both as a fair and impartial historian and as a gentleman of broad military training and experience, this writer is still of the opinion that he has done the memory of Colonel Leavenworth an injustice and has placed too high an estimate upon the character of Joshua Pilcher. It must be admitted that Colonel Leavenworth failed to display the energy and decision on the 9th and 10th of August which had usually characterized his career; nevertheless, he accomplished everything which the expedition set out to accomplish. He secured the humble submission of the Rees, and, but for the traitorous conduct of Pilcher, there can scarcely be a doubt that the river road would have been clear and free to the merchants for the future. The motives which actuated Pilcher are not far to seek. As Captain Chittenden states, after the massacre of Jones and Immel, Pilcher had decided to withdraw the operations of the Missouri Fur Company from the upper river and the mountains. The rivalry between the fur merchants was intense, and, having withdrawn his own operations from the Ree country, Pilcher set out to injure as much as possible his rival and business competitor, Ashley and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and the easy way to do this was to keep the Rees hostile and so make the passage of the river extremely hazardous. Observe how faithfully he (Pilcher) served the purposes of Leavenworth while the expedition was still in the region in which he proposed to confine his future operations, and how he sought to hinder, delay and defeat its object the moment a junction was made with Ashley at the mouth of the Cheyenne. The official report fully discloses his treachery, and to this writer it appears that the greatest weakness exhibited by Leavenworth during the

Colonel Leavenworth thought that the Aricara loss amounted to fifty, but Pilcher was positive that it could not exceed thirty, including women and children, and of these thirteen had been killed by the Sioux. The bombardment caused very few casualties, for it is evident from the hint dropped by Little Soldier that the Indians lay on the ground and that most of the shot passed over them. The effect of the shot on the mud huts was inappreciable. These were all the material results of the campaign under Leavenworth's immediate command, to which may be added the looting of the Aricara cornfields by the Sioux and the burning of the villages by unknown hands. The cost of the expedition was only about two thousand dollars, and the time consumed about seventy-five days. The experience of the troops on the long march and the knowledge it gave them of the country were among its most valuable results.

Colonel Leavenworth's prompt and energetic action, when he received the news of Ashley's disaster, was most creditable.

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expedition was his failure to visit upon Pilcher the highest and most summary punishment within his military power. Pilcher's criticisms of Leavenworth came promptly to the attention of Leavenworth's superior officers, but made no impression unfavorable to Leavenworth upon them. In transmitting Colonel Leavenworth's letter of September 7th (see this volume), in which he recommends several of his subordinate officers for promotion, to John C. Calhoun, secretary of war, Major General E. P. Gaines, commanding the western department, says: "I am decidedly of the opinion that the conduct of the colonel with that of his officers and men was such as to merit marked applause, and if the president of the United States should be pleased to confer any token of his approbation upon any of the officers engaged in the late expedition, Colonel Leavenworth himself has a well founded claim to the first notice."

"It is reported that Mr. Pilcher, agent of one of the Missouri trading companies, and at the same time sub-agent for Indian affairs, has undertaken to censure Colonel Leavenworth, upon the ground of his having made a treaty with the Riccarees before they had been properly chastised.

"Upon this subject it may be remarked that Colonel Leavenworth, by virtue of his command, and pursuant to the law of nature, and of nations, had a right to decide as to the measure of punishment due to the enemy and to dictate to him terms of capitulation; subject of course to the approval or disapproval of the proper authorities above him; nor is it to be apprehended that his government or country will be likely to blame him for having abstained from a sanguinary measure. The victory most acceptable to a virtuous and enlightened nation is doubtless that which is obtained at the least expense of blood."

It was a serious responsibility to take—that of ordering an expedition over six hundred miles away without previous authority from his superior. But Colonel Leavenworth rightly judged that it was not a time to wait several weeks for communication with St. Louis, and he decided to go at once.

The co-operation of General Ashley and Major Pilcher was hearty and energetic. The latter succeeded in getting a large auxiliary force from the Sioux on the strength of a prospect of plundering the Aricara villages. The opening attack by the Sioux was vigorous and determined. But from this point on, the conduct of Colonel Leavenworth was so vacillating and ineffectual, and apparently governed by such an undue estimate of the obstacles in his way, and such a dread of incurring any loss that he disgusted the Indian allies, forfeited their friendship and co-operation, and excited the contempt and amazement of the trappers and mountaineers. There is no reason to suppose that an assault on the towns would not have been successful, and, from every point of view, it was imperative upon Colonel Leavenworth to attempt it. Why had he come this great distance if it was not to inflict summary punishment upon these people? Instead of doing so he fairly begged them for peace, and after having completed a treaty, which he was compelled to write himself because the duly constituted officers of the government flatly refused to participate in it, he next waived fulfillment of its one essential article.

The whole conduct of the fight, if such it can be called, had only served to detract from the credit of the national arms. How little effort was actually made to reduce the villages is apparent from the lack of casualties. It is, of course, no proof of bad management that an officer brings his men out of action without loss of life—rather quite the reverse, if he has accomplished his purpose. But when a whole day's attack upon a fortified town held by six hundred able-bodied warriors results in only slightly wounding two of the assailants, it is evident that the attack could not have been very efficient. Such a result is hardly compatible with Colonel Leavenworth's account of the "galling fire" to which his command was, on at least one occasion, subjected.

In regard to the Aricaras, Colonel Leavenworth's impression, that they were "completely humbled," was wholly errone-

ous. Even while the treaty was going on, and immediately afterward, proof of their bad faith was patent to every one. They failed to carry out the principal article of the treaty and virtually repudiated the whole contract by deserting their villages in the very presence of the troops. In "orders" issued to the regiment, August 29th, upon the return of the expedition to Fort Atkinson, Colonel Leavenworth said: "The blood of our countrymen has been honorably avenged, the Aricaras humbled, and in such manner as will teach them and other Indian tribes to respect the American name and character." Such was not the opinion of those conversant with the facts. The affair was then considered a complete fiasco, and its fame as such persisted in tradition until the details were wholly forgotten. Ten years afterward Maximillian thus referred to it: "The inhabitants of the banks of the Missouri affirm that this enterprise was conducted with very little energy; they retired from the enemy's villages without destroying them or doing much injury to the inhabitants, at which the allied Indians especially were much dissatisfied. The Aricaras, on the other hand, became extremely arrogant, and henceforth attacked and murdered all white men who were so unfortunate as to fall in their way."

Scarcely had Colonel Leavenworth read his orders to the troops at Fort Atkinson when several trappers were massacred by these Indians near the Mandan villages. In the following winter several were killed by them in the valley of the Platte, and similar outrages were of frequent occurrence for many years thereafter. It is true that General Atkinson, in 1825, found them humble and peaceably inclined, but his visit was in company with a formidable military force. The history of the twenty years following this affair, far from justifying the hopeful predictions of Colonel Leavenworth, were rather a literal fulfillment of the despondent prophecy of Major Pilcher in a letter to Benjamin O'Fallon within a week after the troops left the Aricara villages. "It is my sincere and candid opinion," he wrote, "that the expedition against the Aricaras, from which so much service might have been rendered to this dwindling and bleeding commerce, will rather tend to increase, than diminish, the evil; that the situation of affairs in this country is worsted materially; that instead of raising the American character in the estimation of its inhabitants and impressing them with the power and spirit

of our government, the contrary effect has been produced; and that the outrages of the Indians will increase in consequence. That a most unfavorable impression has been left upon the minds of our Indian allies, is a fact that I am sorry to communicate."

It is difficult to fathom the motives which actuated Colonel Leavenworth in this campaign. It was not lack of courage, for his excellent record was evidence against any such theory. It is probable that he felt alarmed at the responsibility that he had voluntarily assumed. He might reasonably doubt that his superiors would approve of his action in taking so large a command to so great a distance simply to punish an outrage against a party of traders and trappers. The lamentable accident in the wreck of the keel boat doubtless increased his anxiety and made him doubly anxious to achieve the object of the expedition without further loss. Finally, he may have distrusted his Indian allies, and even the trappers and mountaineers, and have feared that a successful assault of the villages might have ended in a massacre of its inhabitants. He was well aware that such a result would have raised a storm back in the states, where the circumstances would be imperfectly understood. It is only from considerations of this character that it is possible to explain his conduct at the Aricara towns, and his deliberate choice of a course which could not fail to tarnish his reputation and bring down the contempt of the Indians upon the American arms.

One of the most regrettable features of the whole affair was the feeling of bitter animosity that was engendered between Colonel Leavenworth and Joshua Pilcher. Both were men of high character and unblemished reputation. Colonel Leavenworth had already won enviable distinction in his country's service, particularly in the battles of Chippewa and Niagara Falls in the war of 1812. He was a true soldier and a good officer, and, whatever may have been his error of judgment in the present case, there was no suspicion that he acted from any but the most disinterested motives.

Mr. Pilcher was one of the ablest of the traders and had succeeded Manuel Lisa in the presidency of the Missouri Fur Company. His character was above reproach; he was well informed, and his opinions on matters relating to the Indian trade were more than once sought by the government. He had apparently joined the expedition purely from a desire to help punish the

Aricaras, for, as he had now withdrawn all of his establishments above the Sioux, he was not protecting his own interests to the same extent that Ashley was. Leavenworth was highly pleased with him up to the time when he began his negotiations for peace. He says in one of his reports: "Allow me to say that up to this time I had been very well pleased with Mr. Pilcher in every respect, particularly as sub-agent. He had neglected no opportunity to be serviceable to the expedition and had done everything in his power to ensure its success."

Colonel Leavenworth's decision to negotiate peace without a victory excited the indignation of Pilcher, who had just seen his Sioux auxiliaries draw off in disgust at the failure to accomplish anything. He refused to be a party to the treaty, and probably did all that he could to cause this part of the proceedings to fail. His conduct naturally aroused the ire of Colonel Leavenworth, who considered him bound to obey orders as long as he was attached to the command. The burning of the villages after the troops had left, was at once attributed by Colonel Leavenworth to Pilcher, but it was probably one of Pilcher's men, William Gordon. Pilcher positively denied being a party to the act, and disclaimed any knowledge of who the guilty party was, at the same time intimating that in his opinion the act was altogether justifiable.

Colonel Leavenworth added fuel to the flame of discord by issuing an order on the day of departure from the Aricara towns, in which he directly charged the Missouri Fur Company with the destruction of the villages, and declared that, "with such men he would have no further intercourse." From this ban of displeasure he excepted Major Henry Vanderburgh and Moses B. Carson. But these gentlemen would not accept the colonel's indulgence, and wrote to Pilcher on the day following, that they felt "extremely mortified at having been selected as the object of his (Leavenworth's) approbation and praise." Pilcher himself was enraged at Leavenworth's order, and permitted his indignation to get the better of his judgment entirely. On the 23rd of August, at Fort Recovery, he addressed a letter to Colonel Leavenworth, which, whatever truth it might contain, was couched in such violent and abusive language as to produce the opposite effect upon the public from what was intended. His provocation was indeed great, and he was not a man given to

the mincing of words, but he ought at least to have refrained from personal abuse. He closed his letter with the following passage, in which, it must be acknowledged, there was more truth than the partisans of Colonel Leavenworth would have been willing to admit. "I am well aware," he wrote, "that humanity and philanthropy are mighty shields for you against those who are entirely ignorant of the disposition and character of Indians, but with those who have experienced the fatal and ruinous consequence of their treachery and barbarity these considerations will avail nothing. You came to restore peace and tranquillity to the country and to leave an impression which would insure its continuance. Your operations have been such as to produce the contrary effect, and to impress the different Indian tribes with the greatest possible contempt for the American character. You came (to use your own language) to 'open and make good this great road'; instead of which you have, by the imbecility of your conduct and operations, created and left impassable barriers." (American Fur Trade, pages 600 et seq.)

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EXPLANATORY NOTES ON

Official Correspondence of Leavenworth Expedition

By DOANE ROBINSON

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[1]**"The American Fur Trade of the Far West,"** by Capt. Hiram Martin Chittenden, U. S. A., three volumes; New York, Francis P. Harper, $10.

[2]**Fort Atkinson,** frequently called Council Bluffs, was located on the west bank of the Missouri, upon the site of the present town of Calhoun, Nebraska, sixteen miles north of Omaha. It was here that Lewis and Clarke held the council with the Omahas, which gave the name to the bluffs and to the region.

[3]**William Henry Ashley** was born in 1778 in Powhatan county, Virginia, and located in St. Louis in 1802. He engaged in various business enterprises, including mining, powder-making and banking. He was active in organizing the militia and held several places of command. When the state was organized in 1820 he was elected lieutenant governor. He was a member of congress from 1831 to 1837 and was considered, next to Senator Benton, Missouri's most influential citizen. He became a partner in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company in 1822, and, though his early enterprises were disastrous, he ultimately met with great success and amassed wealth. He died March 26th, 1838.

[4]**The Auricara, Arickara, Rickara, Riccara, Riccarree, or Ree Indians** belong to the Caddoan family and are allied to the Pawnees, Wichitas, etc. They originally occupied the Missouri Valley from the mouth of the White River north to the Mandan country. About 1792 they were driven by the Teton Sioux away from their homes and farms in the vicinity of Pierre and took up their last independent stand six miles north of the mouth of the Grand River, on the west bank of the Missouri. At that period they numbered about 350 families and approximately 2,500 souls. Their conduct toward the whites had, from the beginning, been exceedingly erratic. Lewis and Clarke found them affable and purchased from them a large quantity of corn, beans and melons; but in 1807, when Sergeant Pryor, of the Lewis and Clarke company, attempted to pass their villages to return Big White, the Mandan chief, to his tribe, they treacherously attacked him and killed several of his party. Pryor was accompanied by Pierre Chouteau and a company of trappers. The fight

was a savage one; Chouteau lost three men killed and seven wounded. Three of Pryor's men were wounded, and they were compelled to return to Saint Louis without accomplishing the object of their trip. When the Astorians came up, in 1811, the Rees were very friendly and traded with them on the best of terms, but the trappers regarded them with suspicion at all times, and they justly won the bad distinction of being the most treacherous band on the Missouri. They lived in permanent homes, built of poles and earth, and cultivated the soil, growing considerable quantities of corn and pulse. (See Dr. D. W. Robinson's note upon this tribe in this volume.) They called themselves Sanish or Tanish, meaning "The People." They at present number about 500 people, and are incorporated with the Mandans of Fort Berthold.

[5]**General Henry Leavenworth** was born in Connecticut, December 10, 1783, and was a lawyer. When the second war with England came on he entered the military service in April, 1812, as captain of the Twenty-fifth United States infantry; was breveted lieutenant colonel for distinguished services at the battle of Chippewa, and colonel for meritorious service at the battle of Niagara, and in 1824 was made brigadier general for ten years' faithful service. He died while upon duty, in Indian Territory, July 21, 1834. Much of his distinguished service was in the west. At least as early as 1818 he was sent to the Mississippi, and in that year was stationed at Prairie du Chien, Wisconsin, and in the autumn of 1819 was ordered up the river to the mouth of the St. Peter, whither he went and laid the foundations of Fort Snelling. In the winter of 1820-21 he was relieved by Colonel Snelling, at Fort Snelling, and ordered to St. Louis, where he was placed in command of the forces upon the Missouri, and the next year went to Fort Atkinson. He was again in South Dakota in 1825 accompanying the Atkinson-O'Fallon commission on its treaty making expedition of 1825, and at Fort Pierre on July 4th of that year had charge of the patriotic exercises. Leavenworth is described as "a man of courage, good judgment and great humanity." He possessed a strong will, which carried him forward where other men hesitated or turned back. Catlin, who was with him but a few days before his death at his camp on the False Wichita, where he was suffering from a fever which was epidemic among the soldiers and from which several were dying each day, writes of his conduct: "At the time I am writing the general lies pallid and emaciated before me on the couch with a dragoon fanning him, whilst he breathes forty or fifty times a minute and writhes under a burning fever, although he is yet unwilling even to admit that he is sick." In that condition Leavenworth, with characteristic persistence, moved forward fifty or sixty miles before he gave up and died. The object of the expedition in which he was engaged at the time of his death was to cultivate the acquaintance and secure the friendship of the Pawnees and Comanches, and thus protect the growing commerce of the Santa Fe trail.

[6]**General Henry Atkinson** was a native of North Carolina and entered the miltary service in 1808, as captain in the Third Infantry. Served with distinction in the war of 1812 and spent the remainder of his life in

command upon the frontier. Four military posts were named for him. He visited the Dakota country in 1825, as commissioner to effect treaties of peace with the various tribes, and celebrated the 4th of July of that year at Fort Pierre. He died June 14, 1842.

[7]This letter must have been written somewhere near the mouth of the Moreau.

[8]**The Missouri Fur Company**—See note upon this company by Mr. Charles E. Deland, this volume.

[9]The following letter, presented to this society by Mr. William L. Gardner, of Louisville, Ky., a grand-nephew of the John S. Gardner who was killed in this massacre, is all that I have been able to learn of the victims, except, of course, Hugh Glass, who was among the wounded. This letter was written to the father of John S. Gardner, who then resided in Virginia:

Dr Sir: My painfull duty it is to tell you of the deth of yr son wh befell at the hands of the indians 2d June in the early morning. He lived a little while after he was shot and asked me to inform you of his sad fate. We brought him to the ship when he soon died. Mr. Smith a young man of our company made a powerful prayr wh moved us all greatly and I am persuaded John died in peace. His body we buried with others near this camp and marked the grave with a log. His things we will send to you. The savages are greatly treacherous. We traded with them as friends but after a great storm of rain and thunder they came at us before light and many were hurt. I myself was shot in the leg. Master Ashley is bound to stay in these parts till the traitors are rightly punished.

Yr Obt Svt —Hugh Glass.

Hugh Glass himself was one of the most renowned of the hunters of the Missouri, and was the hero of more adventures than any other. It is not probable that he wrote this letter personally, for, from all accounts, he was illiterate. It is probable that he was an acquaintance of the Gardners and that he employed some clerk in the expedition to write for him.

Captain Chittenden has gathered several stories of the exploits of Glass in South Dakota, from which it appears that immediately after the battle at the Ree villages he started, as a hunter in the party headed by Major Henry for the mountains, traveling up the valley of Grand River. Upon the fifth day, Glass being in advance of the party, he was attacked and horribly mangled by a grizzly bear, but, retaining his nerve, he succeeded in shooting the animal just as the remainder of the party came to his rescue. He seemed to be injured beyond all hope of recovery, and, as Major Henry's business was urgent, he left him in charge of two men, said to have been Fitzgerald and Bridger, both famous frontiersmen. They remained with him for several days, but as he neither recovered nor died, they abandoned him, and, overtaking Henry, reported that they had buried him after his death. Glass was so exasperated by the treachery of these men that he resolved to live for the sake of revenge, and after many days, during which he lived upon wild cherries and buffalo berries, he felt well enough to start to Fort Kiowa, which was located near Chamberlain. He was at the point of starvation, but provi-

dentially came upon a band of wolves that had killed a buffalo calf, and, driving them away from their quarry, he supplied his own needs and carried enough away with him to last him until he reached the fort. Almost immediately he embarked with a party bound for the headwaters of the river, but at the Mandan villages all of the party were massacred by the Rees except Glass, who fortunately had left the boat to hunt across the bend to Fort Tilton. Before arriving at the fort, however, he was attacked by the Rees, and rescued from them by friendly Mandans. He succeeded in reaching Henry, on the Yellowstone, late in February, 1824, where his appearance was as startling to his friends as if arisen from the dead, but to his chagrin the men who deserted him in the Dakota land had gone down the river to Fort Atkinson (Omaha). Nothing daunted, he accepted service as a messenger to carry dispatches to Fort Atkinson, and, to avoid the Rees, crossed the country from the Yellowstone to the Platte; but they (he was accompanied by four men) had just embarked on the latter stream when they fell in with Grey Eyes' band of the Rees, who, since the Leavenworth fight, had been roaming in this country. His comrades were killed, and Glass escaped with the loss of his firearms, but, equipped with only his knife and flint, he made his way to Fort Kiowa and thence to Fort Atkinson, where he found his men enlisted in the army. Thus protected, he dared not carry out his threats against them, but the commandant fitted him out with a new equipment and he abandoned the idea of revenge. He was killed by his old enemies, the Rees, while crossing the Yellowstone River on the ice in the winter of 1832-3. He was a native of Pennsylvania, and was called an old man as early as 1824.

Ashley's camp, from which Glass' letter was written, was located near the mouth of the Cheyenne, being the temporary camp where his men waited the arrival of Leavenworth's command.

[10]**Major Andrew Henry** was present and took an active part in the battle of August 10th against the Riccaras. He was one of the earliest and most energetic of the fur traders. He was one of the founders of the Missouri Fur Company of 1808, and in 1810 led a party to the headwaters of the Missouri for that company and bore the brunt of the terrible struggle with the Blackfeet, at the Three Forks, to whom he was compelled to capitulate, and, crossing the mountains, established a post on a tributary of the Snake River and was therefore the first American to carry business to the Pacific slope. The next year he returned to St. Louis and engaged in mining. In 1822 he associated with General Ashley in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and went at once to the Yellowstone, where he spent the following winter, and whither General Ashley was en route to join him, when the Ree massacre interrupted his plans in June, 1823. Being apprised by Jedediah Smith of the massacre of Ashley's party, Henry at once brought the most of his men down the river and joined the remnant of Ashley's men at the mouth of the Cheyenne, where they remained until Leavenworth came up, when they volunteered for the campaign against their enemies, the Rees. Immediately after the fight, Henry, with a party of seventy men, returned to the mountains by

the route up Grand River. In 1824 he withdrew from the fur business, and, returning to Missouri, took up his residence in Washington county, where he died January 10, 1832, having served in congress from 1826 to 1830. He left one son, Patrick Henry, who died in 1898.

Major Henry was a man of sterling integrity, who constantly refused to resort to the underhanded methods in vogue among the fur traders for injuring his business competitors. Captain Chittenden bears this testimony to his character: "He was one time well off, but lost his money by becoming surety for defaulting debtors. Urged to put his property in his wife's name to avoid loss, he indignantly repelled the suggestion, preferring to live a poor man rather than a dishonest one. He is described as tall and slender, yet of commanding presence, with dark hair and light eyes inclined to blue. He was fond of reading and played the violin well. He was not a member of any church, but was a believer in the Christian religion. He was evidently a man of acts rather than words, and no letter, or recorded expression of his, has come down to us."

[11]**Benjamin O'Fallon** was the government agent having in charge the Indian affairs upon the Missouri River, with headquarters at Fort Atkinson, Council Bluffs. In 1825 he was associated with General Atkinson for the negotiation of the treaties of peace and amity with all the western tribes, and in that capacity visited the South Dakota country.

[12]**General William H. Ashley's License to trade with Indians up the Missouri.*** To all who shall see these presents, Greeting: Whereas, William H. Ashley, of the state of Missouri, having made application to the Department of War, for license to carry on trade with the Indians up the Missouri, and hath given bond, according to law, for the true and faithful observance, by him and his agents, of all singular, the regulations and restrictions as are or shall be made, for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes: Now, therefore, be it known, that the said William H. Ashley is hereby licensed to carry on trade with the Indians up the Missouri accordingly, for the term of one year from the date hereof, unless the license hereby granted should be sooner revoked.

Given under my hand, and the seal of the War Office of
(L. S.) the United States, at the City of Washington, this
11th day of April, in the year of our Lord, 1822.

By order of the President of the United States:

—J. C. Calhoun.

*(A license of precisely the same tenor and date was also granted to Major Andrew Henry.)

Extract of a letter from the Secretary of War to General William Clark, Superintendent of Indian Affairs, St. Louis, dated July 1, 1822. I have received a letter from Major O'Fallon, in which he states that he understands that a license has been granted to General Ashley and Major Henry, to trade, trap, and hunt, on the upper Missouri, and expresses a hope that limits have been prescribed to their trapping and hunting on Indian lands, as, he says, nothing is better calculated to alarm and dis-

turb the harmony so happily existing between us and the Indians in the vicinity of Council Bluffs.

The license which has been granted by this department, by order of the president, to General Ashley and Major Henry, confers the privilege of trading with the Indians only, as the laws regulating trade and intercourse with the Indian tribes do not contain any authority to issue licenses for any other purpose. The privilege thus granted them, they are to exercise conformably to the laws and regulations that are, or shall be, made for the government of trade and intercourse with the Indians, for the true and faithful observance of which they have given bonds with sufficient security; consequently, it is presumed they will do no act not authorized by such laws and regulations, which would disturb the peace and harmony existing between the government and the Indians on the Missouri, but rather endeavor, by their regular and conciliatory conduct, to strengthen and confirm them.

[13]**Caball Bluffs**—This is an error, probably due to failure to correctly decipher careless handwriting. It certainly refers to the Cobalt Bluffs, as the chalk rock hills on the Nebraska shore one mile below Yankton were long called, through the mistaken impression of the early explorers that the hills contained deposits of cobalt. Patrick Gass, Hunt and Catlin each refer to these deposits. The exact point of the accident was doubtless off Smutty Bear's bottom, about one mile above Yankton, under the lee of Brouch's woods.

[14]**William N. Wickliffe,** of Kentucky, was appointed second lieutenant Sixth Infantry, September 20, 1819; promoted to first lieutenant August 27, 1822, and to captain, February 15, 1826. He resigned July 31, 1837.

[15]**Samuel Stackpole** was enlisted (place not stated) October 31, 1812, for five years. Born in Portsmouth, N. H.; age twenty-one years; occupation, mariner. Present in Captain N. S. Clark's company, Sixth United States Infantry, Governor's Island, N. Y., October 31, 1812; joined September 28, 1815, from Fourth United States Infantry, by regimental order; present February 29, 1816, to October 31, 1817; discharged at Plattsburg, N. Y., November 2, 1817, term of service expired, a sergeant. He re-enlisted November 2, 1817, for five years, and was discharged November 2, 1822, by expiration of service, a sergeant, Company G, Sixth United States Infantry. He again re-enlisted November 2, 1822, in the same company, and died July 3, 1823.

Jedediah S. Smith. (See note 46.)

Cheyenne River—"Shyan," an old form of spelling, was probably intended.

[16]**Fort Brasseaux**—This post was, according to the Indian tradition, located on the west bank of the Missouri near the mouth of White River, and was owned by Antoine Brasseaux, of St. Louis, who was probably allied with the American Fur Company. Captain Chittenden thinks this post may have been located farther north, in the neighborhood of old Fort Lookout. Brasseaux married an Indian woman and left several

descendants on the river. The wife of Brasseaux later became the wife of Primeau, the trader, who, in the early sixties, was established near Fort Pierre.

[17]See Dr. D. W. Robinson's note upon the Mandans, this volume.

[18]See Dr. Robinson's note.

[19]**Fort Recovery** was located upon the lower end of American Island, opposite Chamberlain. It was the property of the Missouri Fur Company and was built in 1822. Portions of the stockade were still standing as late as 1880.

[20]**Major Wooley**—See note 41.

[21]**Major Ketchem**—See note 42.

[22]**William Gordon,** one of the attaches of the Missouri Fur Company, has left his name indelibly impressed upon the west as one of the fearless frontiersmen who was undaunted by any of the terrors of the river or trail. He served in Pilcher's brigade with the rank of second lieutenant. The letter to Pilcher indicates that he was a man of intelligence and some learning.

[23]**Jones and Immel**—Captain Chittenden says of these men: "The names of these two men are almost always seen together, for the reason that about all that is known of them is their connection with the expedition which ended in their tragic death on the Yellowstone in 1823." Benjamin O'Fallon thus refers to them in a letter to General Clark, dated July 7, 1823: "Jones (Robert) was a gentleman of eleverness and for many years a resident of St. Louis. * * * Immel (Michael) has been a long time on the river; formerly an officer in the U. S. A.; since then an Indian trader of some distinction. In some respects he was extraordinary. He was brave, uncommonly large, and of great muscular strength. When timely apprised of danger he was a host in himself. This may be the same Immel who was associated with Valle as a free hunter on the Upper Missouri in 1810."

[24]**Keemle**—I find no other reference to this man.

[25]**Council Bluffs**—See note 2, relating to Fort Atkinson.

[26]**Joshua Pilcher,** whom Captain Chittenden describes as a man of good ability, strict integrity of character and high standing in business and social circles, was born at Culpepper, Virginia, March 15, 1790, and came to St. Louis during the war of 1812. He engaged in the fur trade as well as other enterprises; was a director of the bank of St. Louis and succeeded the renowned Manuel Lisa as president of the Missouri Fur Company. In 1838 he became the government superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, and held the position until his death in 1847.

[27]**Mr. Charlonnau** was an attache of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company and was Major Andrew Henry's interpreter to the Arickaras.

[28]**William Armstrong,** of Ohio, was appointed ensign, Rifle Regiment, January 19, 1813; promoted to third lieutenant March 12, 1813; to second

lieutenant January 24, 1814; to first lieutenant October 1, 1816, and to captain July 31, 1818. He was transferred to the Sixth Infantry June 1, 1821, and died February 11, 1827.

[29]**Bennett Riley,** of Maryland, was appointed ensign, Rifle Regiment, January 19, 1813; promoted to third lieutenant March 12, 1813; to second lieutenant April 15, 1814; to first lieutenant March 31, 1817, and to captain August 6, 1818. He was transferred to the Fifth Infantry June 1, 1821; transferred to Sixth Infantry October 3, 1821; promoted to major, Fourth Infantry, September 26, 1837; to lieutenant colonel, Second Infantry, December 1, 1839, and to colonel, First Infantry, January 31, 1850. He was brevted major August 6, 1828, for ten years' faithful service in one grade, and colonel June 2, 1840, the date of the battle of Chokachatta, Fla., "in which he particularly distinguished himself by bravery and good conduct," and for long, meritorious and gallant service; brigadier general April 18, 1847, for gallant and meritorious conduct in the battle of Cerro Gordo, Mexico, and major general August 20, 1847, for gallant conduct at the battle of Conteras, Mexico. He died June 9, 1853.

[30]**John Gale,** of New Hampshire, was appointed sugeon's mate, Twenty-third Infantry, July 6, 1812, and promoted to surgeon, Thirty-fourth Infantry, August 31, 1814. He was honorably discharged, on reduction of the army, June 15, 1815; was reinstated as surgeon's mate, Third Infantry, September 13, 1815, and promoted to be surgeon, Rifle Regiment, April 18, 1818. He was appointed major and surgeon (in the staff) June 1, 1821. He died July 27, 1830.

[31]**Nicholas Cruger,** of New York (not Couger), was a cadet at the United States military academy from July 26, 1815, to July 1, 1820, when graduated and appointed second lieutenant, Second Infantry; transferred to Seventh Infantry July 15, 1820, and transferred to Sixth Infantry July 25, 1820; promoted to first lieutenant February 28, 1823, and to captain February 11, 1827; resigned October 31, 1827. He died June 3, 1868.

[32]**Thomas Noel,** of Maryland, was a cadet at the United States military academy August 5, 1814, to July 1, 1820, when graduated and appointed second lieutenant, Sixth Infantry; promoted to first lieutenant April 16, 1823; to captain May 1, 1827, and to major, Seventh Infantry, May 9, 1846. He was breveted major December 25, 1837, for gallant conduct in the battle of Kissimmee, Florida. He died August 14, 1848.

[33]**William W. Morris,** of New York, was a cadet at the United States military academy March 17, 1815, to July 1, 1820, when graduated and appointed second lieutenant, Sixth infantry; promoted to first lieutenant August 11, 1823; transferred to Fourth Artillery July 30, 1824; promoted to captain December 17, 1836; to major November 4, 1853; to lieutenant colonel May 14, 1861, and to colonel, Second Artillery, November 1, 1861. He was breveted major January 27, 1837, for gallant conduct on several occasions, and general efficiency in the war against the Florida Indians; brigadier general June 9, 1862, for faithful and meritorious service, and major general December 10, 1865, for faithful and meritorious services during the rebellion. He died December 11, 1865.

[34]**William H. Vanderburgh,** known in most of the stories of the west as Henry Vanderburgh, was born in Vincennes, Indiana, late in the eighteenth century, and was killed by Indians on Madison River, in what is now Montana, on October 14, 1832. He was a partisan of the American Fur Company and a most efficient leader of the mountain trappers. He came of revolutionary stock and had, himself, taken a short course of instruction at the national military academy at West Point. At the battle of the Ree villages he bore the nominal rank of captain of the company, tendered by the Missouri Fur Company under Mr. Pilcher, and was, therefore, among the first officers of the first volunteer soldiers ever enlisting for service in the South Dakota region.

[35]**Grey Eyes,** the chief of the Rees at the period of the conquest, was a cunning and unscrupulous warrior of unquestionable ability and courage. He was not an hereditary chief, but had won his position by energy and force of character. It is said he kept his people in terror of him. Irving relates of him that in 1811, when the villages were visited by Hunt with his Astoria party, when the real chief, The Left Handed, had declared that it was impossible for the Rees to spare so many horses as Mr. Hunt desired to purchase, Grey Eyes promptly came forward with "an honest expedient for bridging the difficulty." "If we have not enough horses," he said, "we easily can steal more."

[36]For this expense account see Colonel Leavenworth's final report, this volume.

[37]**Fort Snelling**—Colonel Leavenworth built that fort in 1819-20.

[38]**Mr. Pratte**—A merchant of St. Louis, partner in the American Fur Company, and of Pierre Chouteau.

[39]**Yankton Indians**—A tribe of the Dakota Sioux claiming all of the country between the Sioux and Missouri rivers, as far north as a line drawn approximately from Lake Kampeska to the mouth of Medicine Creek below Pierre.

[40]**Teton Indians**—Literally "people of the prairie," and embraced all the tribes of the Dakotahs west of the Missouri.

[41]**Abram R. Wooley,** of New Jersey, was appointed captain and deputy commissary of ordnance December 4, 1812; promoted major of ordnance February 9, 1815; transferred to Seventh Infantry June 1, 1821; transferred to Sixth Infantry March 11, 1823, and promoted to lieutenant colonel December 16, 1825. He was breveted lieutenant colonel, to date February 9, 1825, for ten years' faithful service in one grade. He was dismissed May 1, 1829.

[42]**Daniel Ketchum,** of Connecticut, was appointed second lieutenant, Twenty-fifth Infantry, July 6, 1812; promoted to be first lieutenant March 13, 1813, and to be captain September 30, 1813; transferred to Sixth Infantry May 17, 1815. He was breveted major July 25, 1814, for distinguished service in the battle of Niagara Falls, Upper Canada. He died August 30, 1828.

[43]**Fort Kiowa**—A post of the American Fur Company, built in 1822, or earlier, on the west bank of the Missouri, ten miles above Chamberlain; was near the site of old Fort Lookout.

[44]**Sciones (Siounes)**—A band of Teton Sioux residing on the Teton River.

[45]**Ankapat (Uncpapas)**—The band of Teton Sioux now residing at Standing Rock agency. For further and fuller information relating to these various tribes and bands see Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson's exhaustive notes upon Dr. Blackburn's history in this volume.

[46]**Jedediah Smith** was one of the most notable characters of the entire frontier. He was a native of New York and came to St. Louis and entered the employ of General Ashley in the spring of 1823, being then but eighteen years of age. After the massacre, on the morning of June 2, he volunteered to carry news of the disaster to Major Henry, who was on the Yellowstone, and before starting made a prayer on the deck of the Yellowstone, which was the first recorded act of worship in South Dakota. He succeeded in reaching Henry and then returned down the river in a boat, passing Fort Atkinson on July 8th and going on to St. Louis. He returned up river and is supposed to have been a participant in the battle of the 10th of August; this, however, is not certain. General Ashley was greatly impressed with the bravery of the boy in undertaking the hazardous mission to Henry, from which the more experienced plainsmen shrank, and it may be that he gave him the commission as nominal captain of this company as a mark of honor, though he was absent. Captain Chittenden thinks it would have been possible for Smith to have made the trip indicated within the time limit and have been present at the battle. General Atkinson did not report the arrival of Smith in St. Louis, with news from Leavenworth until August 15th, and as the authorities were manifestly exceedingly anxious about the welfare of the expedition, it is fair to assume that Atkinson wrote Gaines of Smith's arrival as soon as he reached the city. If this conclusion is sound, then it was not possible for Smith to have been present and taken part in the battle of August 10th-12th. He steadily grew in the esteem of Ashley and of his associates, and when Ashley retired from business, in 1826, he transferred his interests to Smith, Sublette & Jackson, though Smith at that time was not twenty-two years of age. Smith was always enterprising, and immediately attempted to extend the fur trade into the California country and made two trips there, spending a winter upon American Fork of the Sacramento, which took its name from that fact. He experienced great hardships, but came through them all with undaunted spirit, until, in 1831, when in his twenty-seventh year, he was killed by the Comanches on the Cimarron River, far down on the Santa Fe trail.

Of him Mr. William Waldo, quoted by Captain Chittenden, says: "Smith was a bold, outspoken, professing and consistent Christian, the first and only one known among the early Rocky Mountain trappers and hunters. No one who knew him well doubted the sincerity of his piety.

He had become a communicant of the Methodist church before leaving his home in New York, and in St. Louis he never failed to occupy a place in the church of his choice, while he gave generously to all objects connected with the religion which he professed and loved. Besides being a hero, a trader and a Christian, he was himself inclined to literary pursuits and had prepared a geography and atlas of the Rocky Mountain region, extending perhaps to the Pacific, but his death occurred before its publication."

[47]**Hiram Scott**—Little is known of this man, who must have occupied a high position in the esteem of General Ashley to have been placed in command of a company under the circumstances. He was a clerk in the employ of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, and six or seven years later fell ill out on the Oregon trail and was deserted by his companions and left to die. He crept forty miles before he gave up, and the next spring his remains were found at the bluffs out in western Nebraska which still bear his name.

[47-2]**George C. Jackson**—Captain Chittenden thinks this is an error and that David E. Jackson, the junior partner in the firm of Smith, Sublette & Jackson, who succeeded General Ashley as the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, was the person referred to. He was active on the frontier, and his name has been preserved in "Jackson's Hole," a favorite rendezvous of the trapper in the mountains. This "hole" is really a beautiful valley in western Wyoming.

[48]**Edward Rose** was one of the men who was notable upon the frontier in the early part of the nineteenth century. His father was white and his mother a half-breed Cherokee and negro. Irving says that in his early years Rose was a pirate upon the lower Mississippi, but, being driven from that locality, he found an asylum in the fur camps of the upper Missouri. At any rate, he bore a hard name. In 1811 Hunt employed him as a guide to lead his Astorians through the mountains, which he reached by passing up Grand River and, when well on his way, was almost overwhelmed with fear lest Rose should betray him to the Crow Indians, with whom he had an alliance. Rose, however, faithfully performed his mission, and Leavenworth, too, appears to have found him trustworthy, and Atkinson and O'Fallon employed him as an interpreter in 1825 when upon their treaty-making expedition. Later he was with the Crows and was called a "Crow Chief." He was known to be there as late as 1834. How he came to his death is not known, but he is buried on the bank of the Missouri, opposite the mouth of Milk River.

[49]**Thomas Fitzpatrick** was a partner of General Ashley in the Rocky Mountain Fur Company. Later in life he was well known as a guide, fully conversant with the western country, and was frequently employed by the government.

[50]**William L. Sublette** was one of four brothers, all distinguished as plainsmen and in the fur trade, William being the most successful and best known. He was born in Kentucky in 1799 and died at forty-

six years of age, being, at his death, one of the wealthiest men in the west. He came onto the river in 1818 and soon after entered the fur trade, continuing in it until 1842, when he retired with a fortune and at once attempted to make a political career. In 1844 he secured the Democratic nomination for congress, but was defeated. He then became a candidate for commissioner of Indian affairs and was en route to Washington, doubtless upon this business, when he was stricken down at Pittsburg with his fatal illness. He is buried at Bellfontaine cemetery, St. Louis. Captain Chittenden gives this interesting and romantic anecdote of his marriage to Miss Frances Hereford, of Tuscombia, Alabama, on March 21, 1844: "It is said that the lady had formed a previous attachment for William's younger brother, Solomon P., but that William's greater fortune turned the scale in his favor. When William died, soon after his marriage, he willed his property to her on condition that she should not change her name. Four years after her husband's death she married her first love, Solomon P."

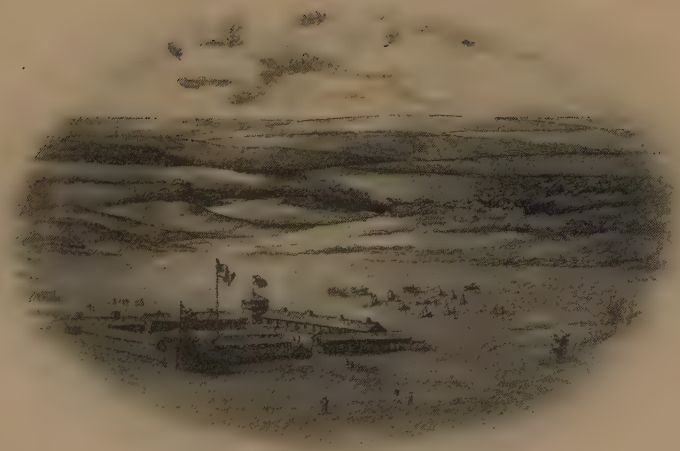
Sublette appears to have been a rather unscrupulous money maker, and exceedingly ambitious. Even his brothers, or at least his brother Milton, was compelled to pay tribute to his greed for wealth, and for several years William L. so managed his business as to successfully milk the firm of Fitzpatrick, Sublette & Bridger, of which Milton was a member, of a large portion of their hard-earned profits, and his successful effort to prevail upon his brother's firm to repudiate their contract with Nathaniel Weyth to supply them with goods, and which goods Weyth had at great hazard conveyed to the agreed rendezvous in the Rocky Mountains, indicates the unscrupulousness of his methods.

[51]**William H. Vandeburgh**—See note 34.

[52]**Carson**—This was probably Alexander Carson, who was an active member of Hunt's Astoria party in 1811. If so, he was an old hunter who was picked up by Hunt in the vicinity of Yankton and induced to return to the mountains, with which he was thoroughly familiar, and later was, by Hunt, placed in charge of one of the detached parties of hunters in the mountains. It may, however, have been Moses Carson, of St. Louis, who was a member of the Missouri Fur Company, in the reorganization of 1819.

[53]**William Gordon**—See Note 22.

Pierre Chouteau, Jr.



Old Fort Pierre
(From a painting owned by Charles E. DeLand)

Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors

—— BY ——

Maj. FREDERICK T. WILSON, U. S. A.

WITH EDITORIAL NOTES BY CHARLES E. DE LAND

PREFATORY NOTE

The author of the following article, Major Frederick T. Wilson of the United States army, prepared the same at the request of the editor of the "U. S. Cavalry Journal," published at Leavenworth, Kansas, in which periodical it first appeared, in 1894. Major Wilson states that the article was made up from notes and data connected with the history of the military posts on the Missouri River. That he had at hand a wide range of resources in the military history of the Northwest, as well as considerable data connected with the fur-trading period, is evident from the comprehensive view of the situation taken by him, as well as by his frequent descent to details. In the nature of things some errors crept into some phases of his narrative of facts (what historical account is entirely free from them), but they are few, and in themselves, as exceptions, serve to emphasize the general character for truth and authenticity which is sustained by the paper as a whole, which is believed to be one of the most interesting and valuable contributions to the history of the upper Missouri River region extant.

Major Wilson is a chief of division in the War Department; has been connected all his life with the army in both military and civil capacities, and has been in charge, ex-officio, of the preparation of public documents relating to the army and incidentally to these functions he has written the official history of a large number of forts and other military posts; but he did not personally participate in any of the events at or in the region of old Fort Pierre. He has also very courteously placed at the disposal of that member of the executive committee of the State Historical Society to whom was assigned the work of editing said article as part of the forthcoming report of the society, most of the notes used in preparation of the same, as a contribution

from the War Department to the work of the society, and has also forwarded additional data relating to the recent status of some of the military posts in the neighborhood of Fort Pierre, upon request made therefor. His valuable labors in this direction have, in the view of said committee, placed this state and the entire region comprehended by his article under large obligations to him, and have, it is believed, richly earned for him and his production a place in the initial volume of the annals of the State Historical Society.

The period covered by the article in question marks substantially the closing chapter in the long succession of years, extending from the pioneer expedition of Lewis and Clarke in 1804-6 until the end of the Sioux outbreak of 1862, and embracing the whole of the fur-trading era of the upper Missouri and the Rocky Mountains. As such, it was believed by the members of the Historical Society upon whom devolved the pleasing task of preparing the first volume of reports or annals of the society, that no more pertinent or fitting basis for grouping together historical facts comprehending that era could be found than that of Major Wilson's contribution in question. With such end in view, the foot-notes and appendices published as explanatory of and supplementary to the text of said article have been prepared, for the purpose of bringing to the aid of the historical student and the general public in something like connected form, an account of the various commercial enterprises and concerns through which the first movement towards the civilization of the territory in question was carried out. And the trading post, being the universal means to the end of that movement, naturally became the subject of historical treatment. In carrying out this purpose an effort has been made to substantially embrace all of the trading and military posts which played a more or less important part in the process of promoting that trade and, incidentally, of protecting the whites as against the Indians as well as British trespassers, while at the same time protecting the Indians under existing or contemplated treaties. Yet it is not by any means claimed that the article in question as thus explained and supplemented exhausts, even in general outline, the subject of the American fur trade. It is believed, however, that within the bounds of the immediate purpose of Major Wilson's paper, and as regards the Missouri River country and

the state of South Dakota as related thereto, the general subject in hand has received some substantial treatment in the following pages.

The events culminating in the Harney expedition of 1855, and those following and including the Sully campaign in the sixties, are believed to be of special interest to the South Dakotan as paving the way for the general westward movement of immigration and pioneer settlement, and as witnessing the dissolution of frontier life best summed up in the word "trading-post." And as old Fort Pierre was, all things considered, the most important land-mark of its kind on the upper Missouri, as it has always been the most important commercial point on that waterway evolved out of the fur-trading process and the settlement of the frontier, its locality may well become the center around which to build one of the principal monuments of history in our new commonwealth.

FORT PIERRE AND ITS NEIGHBORS

BY FREDERICK T. WILSON, LATE MAJOR FIRST REGIMENT DISTRICT COLUMBIA NATIONAL GUARD. WITH NOTES BY HON. CHARLES E. DE LAND

Old Fort Pierre, which for more than half a century was one of the most conspicuous landmarks on the upper Missouri, and whose name is perpetuated in the capital of a sovereign state, possesses more than a passing interest to the army, with whose history it is indissolubly associated. While it owed its establishment to the pursuit of the fur trade, which in the early years of the present century engrossed the attention of the idle capital of the commercial world, while affording employment for the superfluous energy of those adventurous spirits who, through all history, have followed close upon the trail of the discoverer, it came early under the eye of the army, without whose protection it could not have existed a month.[1] It was one of a series of historical guide posts, which, dotted here and there across the western hemisphere, indicate the course of empire. The credulous nature of the unsuspecting native who, for a string of glittering beads, was willing to exchange a pelt or skin, an ivory tusk or a bundle of feathers worth a thousand times their value, has furnished the incentive through which more than one continent has been opened up to civilization.

An army legend asserts that the place was founded by the illustrious Peter the Hermit, who miraculously survived the first crusade, and selected this point near the mauvais terre, because of its unmitigated dreariness and its indescribable desolation; but as this is not well authenticated we give it for what it is worth. In the same manner we are compelled to discredit the intimation expressed in the well known sonnet that was sung about the camp-fires of the Sioux expedition of 1855:

"Oh, we don't mind the marching, nor the fighting do we fear,
But we'll never forgive old Harney for bringing us to Pierre.
They say old Shotto built it, but we know it is not so;
For the man who built this bloody ranche is reigning down below."

But all this is legendary, if not absurd, and we mention it merely as a part of the history that attaches to a famous locality. We shall discover facts enough before we are through.

As the first link then, in the chain of events that lead up to the door of a state capital, we find living in New Orleans about the middle of the last century, under the governorship of the Marquis de Vaudreuil-Cavagnal, one Marie Therese Bourgeois, born in that city in 1733, who at the age of sixteen had married one Auguste Rene Chouteau, also a native of New Orleans, and finding him of an uncertain temper, abusive and violent of conduct, had left him and returned to her friends, taking their only child, Auguste, who had been born on the 26th of September, 1750. Upon the subsequent whereabouts or ultimate fate of M. Chouteau, pere, history is silent. In providing the name for a family that was to become famous in the annals of the New World, he seems to have fulfilled his destiny. Five years later there appeared at New Orleans one Pierre Laclede Liguest (there is doubt concerning the last of these names, and as it was seldom used, the point is unimportant), a native of Bearne, not far from Pau in the Pyrenees; an attractive and energetic fellow of thirty or thereabouts, who had journeyed to the Mississippi in search of the proverbial fortune. He seems to have found it almost immediately, in the person of Mme. Chouteau—still young and unencumbered save by the youth Auguste, with whom he established domestic relations, and in the friendship of M. de Kerlerec, who had succeeded to the governorship upon the promotion of the Marquis de Vaudreuil to the governor-generalship of Canada, through whom he was enabled to secure a valuable contract to feed the French garrisons. In the pursuit of this vocation he encountered one Gilbert Auguste Maxent, another soldier of fortune, who was equally energetic and similarly ambitious, and who was also most influential at the vice-regal palace. In 1763, just before Louis XV., in a moment of bibulous generosity, had ceded the Louisiana Territory to Spain, de Kerlerec was recalled and sent to the bastile for safe-keeping, but not before having made over to Messieurs Maxent and Laclede the most valuable grant in his gift, an exclusive privilege to trade with the Indians

on the upper Mississippi and its tributaries. "Thus does the fate of empire on a trifle rest."

These enterprising gentlemen seem to have lost no time in taking possession. They left New Orleans on the 3d of August, 1763, with a party of trappers, hunters and tradesmen, about thirty in number, for the purpose of locating the first of their proposed chain of trading posts, taking with them Mme. Chouteau and her son Auguste, together with the four children who had been the result of her second union. The party landed at Fort Chartres on the 3d of November, where they spent the winter, but early in February, 1764, young Chouteau, then a robust youth of fourteen, was sent with a party of workmen to a spot on the west bank which Laclede had selected, to clear the ground and erect habitations. Here they were joined during the spring by another small party from New Orleans, and later by discharged soldiers and others from Fort Chartres.

As regards the naming of the new settlement there is much dispute. A favorite legend fixes the date of the completion of the village at the 25th of August, which being the fete day of Saint Louis, suggested the name. It is a fact, however, that for many years, after the custom of the fatherland, the 25th day of August was observed at St. Louis as the fete day of the settlement. From this date the firm of Maxent, Laclede & Co., the owners of the village and all its suburbs, as well as the sole purveyors of trade for all the country to the westward, seems to have flourished. Auguste Chouteau, whose business abilities developed with the trade, became the confidential clerk and agent of the company, its chief clerk, and finally its manager; so that when in 1778 old Pierre Laclede died, young Chouteau was selected by the governor to administer the estate. So well did he perform this duty that Mr. Maxent, who appears to have been at the best an inactive member of the firm, found it practicable to withdraw from the business, and Auguste, associating his younger brother, John Pierre, who by this time had reached his majority, picked up the trade where Laclede had dropped it, and for the succeeding quarter of a century proceeded to amass a respectable fortune.

In the meantime Victorie, the eldest daughter of the Chouteau-Laclede union, had married Charles Gratiot; Palagie, the second, had espoused Sylvester Labbadie; and Marie Louise, the

third, Joseph M. Papin, all gentlemen of wealth and standing, and all interested in the Indian trade. John Pierre had established intimate relations with the Osages and other tribes to the westward, and was regarded by Jefferson and Madison, no less than by Merriwether, Lewis and William Clark, as possessing the best knowledge of the Indian character of any man living, and by each of these officials was intrusted with many confidential missions. A son of John Pierre, by name Auguste Pierre, penetrated to the headwaters of the Arkansas, and died at his trading post in 1839; another son, Francis Gratiot, ascended the Missouri and founded Kansas City at the mouth of the Kaw. But this is to anticipate.

It was not to be expected that so promising a field should be long monopolized by a single firm. The license given Laclede by the French administration was never seriously recognized by the Spanish succession, though some feeble attempts were made to protect it, and when in 1800 Spain, tired of her unruly colony, returned it to the giver, the transfer was merely nominal, and the most of the inhabitants whose nationality was thus summarily tossed about, never heard of it, nor would have been at all concerned if they had. St. Louis as the head of the Indian trade soon became the rendezvous of daring spirits of all nations, who saw in the impending contest between England and France for the control of a continent a probable opportunity for the exercise of their peculiar talents. It was while the decision of this absorbing question was hovering in the balance that the sagacious mind of Napoleon found a happy though unexpected solution in the sale of the whole country, present and remote to the United States; and this was the signal for deeds of enterprise and daring such as were to surprise the world.

The Fur Trade on the Missouri

In 1802, one Manuel Lisa, a wealthy and enterprising Spaniard, formed at St. Louis a partnership with Francis Benoit, Gregory Sarpy and Charles Sanguinet, under the name of Lisa, Benoit & Co., for the purpose of operating an Indian trade along the upper Missouri in opposition to the Chouteaus, but nothing seems to have come of it beyond a dispute among the partners, which the courts were called upon to settle. In 1806, however, encouraged by the favorable reports of Lewis and Clarke, two

army officers who had spent the winter of 1804-5 at the Mandan villages, not far from the present site of Bismarck, and had penetrated to the Rocky Mountains, Lisa formed another partnership with George Druillard,[2] one of Lewis and Clarke's men, with a capital of $16,000, and entered upon active operations. These gentlemen ascended the Missouri during the fall of 1807 and spent the winter at the mouth of the Yellowstone and Big Horn. Their establishment, to which they gave the name of Fort Manuel,[3] was the first in that section. Lisa returned to St. Louis in 1808, and together with General William Clarke, the famous pioneer, and Sylvester Labbadie, the son-in-law of Madame Chouteau, each contributing $9,000, organized the American Fur Company.[4] In the spring of 1809 these three gentlemen, at the head of a party of 150 men, ascended the Missouri as far as Fort Manuel,[5] leaving a small establishment at the Arickaras village not far below the mouth of Big Knife River, which they called Fort Clarke,[6] a second at the Mandan village, a mile or two above; and a third at the village of the Gros Ventres[7] on the right bank. In the spring of 1810 they proceeded to the Three Forks of the Missouri, where they erected a fort and commenced trapping for beaver. They had every prospect of success until their operations were interrupted by the hostility of the Blackfeet, and after having lost some thirty of their men, became dispirited and began to separate, some returning by way of the Missouri, and others entering the employ of the Hudson Bay Company. The company languished during the second war with Great Britain, and finally expired about 1816.

About this time, Gabriel Cerre and Francis Gratiot Chouteau commenced to trade with the Kansas Nation, locating their house at a point very near the mouth of the Kansas (or Kaw), and Bernard Pratte, Jr., a grandson of Madame Chouteau, and Joseph and Antoine Vasquez built a trading station at the Maha (or O-maha) village, somewhere about the mouth of the Platte.[9] In 1818 the United States factory at Fire Prairie (Fort Osage[10]) was abandoned, leaving the trade of the Osages to Charles Leguerrier and the Chouteau Brothers, who had contested it for twenty years. These, with the trading houses of John and Francois Roberdeau and John M. Papin, another son-in-law of Madame Chouteau, enjoyed a monopoly of the trade with the Ottoes, the Ioways and the Missourias, while the firm of Ber-

thold & Chouteau took that of the Pawnees, the O-mahas, the Piankeshaws, the Arickarees, and such of the Sioux as could be reached.

Such was the condition of the trade along the Missouri when, in 1819, nine gentlemen of St. Louis formed a partnership under the name of the Missouri Fur Company, having for its object the purchase of the interest of the company of the same name that had failed in 1816.[11] These were Manuel Lisa,[12] who was selected its president; Thomas Hempstead, Jr., a brother-in-law of Lisa; Joshua Pilcher, who afterwards became superintendent of Indians at St. Louis; Joseph Perkins, Andrew Woods, Moses B. Carson, John B. Zenoin, Andrew Dripps and Robert Jones. During that summer Pilcher, who was well acquainted with the country, with a well appointed party, ascended the Missouri until they had outdistanced all the trading houses on the river. Then, at what is now known as the Second Cedar Island, they built their first post, which they called Fort aux Cedars;[13] at a point on the left bank, opposite Prospect Island, they located a second, under the name of Fort Lookout,[14] and at about an equal distance above the Great Bend, also on the left bank, they left a third, which later became known as Fort George.[15] At the Great Bend itself they erected a blacksmith shop for the manufacture of axes, battle axes, hatchets, knives, lances, etc., for the Indian trade, and twenty miles farther along the river, at a point on the right bank, opposite the mouth of the Teton, they built a small establishment surrounded by a stockade, to which they gave the name of Fort Tecumseh.[16] This was very near the site of the present city of Pierre, South Dakota.

The history of the following ten years, which was one of comparative quiet on the Missouri, takes us for a moment into the unexplored regions to the west and northwest. In 1809-10 John Jacob Astor had organized his American Fur Company[17] (the titles of these corporations become confusing) under a charter from the state of New York, with a capital of $1,000,000 —an immense sum in those days—and this parent company had begot a numerous offspring, most of them fledgelings, organized, perhaps, as in these later years, rather for speculative purposes than legitimate operations. Among these were the Pacific Fur Company, created in 1810, with headquarters at the new city

of Astoria, at the mouth of the Columbia; the Southwest Company, in 1811, intended to operate as far south as the Platte; the Columbia Fur Company, in 1817, to cover the territory between the Mississipppi and the Yellowstone, and the two latter merging in 1826 with the North American Fur Company,[18] which had been created in 1823. All these, it will be observed, confined their operations to the territory north of the 40th parallel. The country to the south of this line, which touched closely upon the Spanish possessions, was practically a terra incognito. In 1826 Jedediа Smith, William Jackson and Milton Sublette organized a company at St. Louis, under the name of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company,[19] for the purpose of penetrating this southern section, and during the following four or five years explored the whole region from St. Louis to Santa Fe, and from thence to the Pacific, along the ocean to the mouth of the Columbia, and thence up the Columbia and back to the Missouri. But although this series of explorations were among the most remarkable achievements of American history, and although the company mustered at one time more than four hundred employes, and had projected enterprises that were rather gigantic than practicable, there came a time when it found itself unable to realize on its expectations, and after an existence of scarcely eight years, the Rocky Mountain Company decided to retire from business.

In the meantime the Chouteaus, including the various branches of the family, had been busily accumulating fortunes. Bernard Pratte, who had married the daughter of Sylvester Labbadie and Pelagie Chouteau, John P. Cabanne, a banker of St. Louis, and Bartholomew Berthold, who had married the only daughter of John Pierre, Sr., had joined with Pierre, Jr., to form the American Fur Company of St. Louis. Then Auguste and Pierre, Sr., had retired, and had been succeeded by Pierre, Jr.,[20] much the ablest and energetic of the family, and the latter, with his partners of the American Fur Company, had, in 1834, purchased all the western interests of Astor, thus swallowing the progeny of its eastern patronymic, and becoming so formidable a competitor to the Hudson Bay Company as to compel it to confine its operations to British territory. So that when the stock of the Rocky Mountain Company came into the market, it was Pierre Chouteau, Jr., as the head

of the Chouteau syndicate, who grasped it, and by this operation succeeded in controlling nearly all the fur business of the United States east of the Rockies, as well as the trade with Santa Fe.

Fort Pierre Chouteau

In purchasing the Astor interests, Chouteau had secured the services of the men who had been managing those interests, and who, in many instances, had opened up and developed them. Among these was one, Kenneth McKenzie, a native of Scotland, who had served the Hudson's Bay Company, from which he had retired in 1820 and located himself as an independent trader on the upper Missouri, becoming friendly with the Indians, and held by them in great respect. In 1829 he had gone with the North American Company,[21] and when this was purchased by Chouteau, he had entered the service of the latter and was put in charge of all his trade on the upper Missouri, with headquarters at Fort Tecumseh. The site of this post was not a convenient one for the Indians with whom McKenzie desired to trade;[22] the river was wide at this point, and crossing difficult; for three and four days at a time the high winds, low waters and quicksands closed all communication with the other bank. Moreover, experience had determined that the left bank[23] of the Missouri was the preferable one for Indian trading. On this side roamed the Tetons,[24] the Ogallalas and Arickares, much the larger and friendlier tribes, while on the north bank the Yanctons, Yanktonies and Siounes were few in numbers, and to reach them it was necessary to go as far as the Jacques, frequently to the St. Peters. In company with William Laidlow,[25] another employe of the Chouteau Company, McKenzie[26] visited the head village of the Arickares and obtained their consent to the location of a trading post on the left bank. The site selected was a level plateau some three hundred feet back from the river, about three miles[27] from the mouth of the Wapka Shicka (variously styled the Teton, the Bad and the Little Missouri), and there in the spring of 1832, they erected a stockade 280 by 300 feet square, to which they gave the name of Fort Pierre Chouteau.

The new establishment having been completed, all portable property was removed from Fort Tecumseh and that post aban-

doned. The letter book, in which was recorded all the transactions of the establishment, shows the last communication from Fort Tecumseh to have been dated May 10, 1832, and signed by Kenneth McKenzie; the next is dated at Fort Pierre June 17, 1832, and signed by William Laidlow, which is approximately the date of the opening of business at Fort Pierre.

It was about this time that the post was visited by George Catlin,[28] the famous Indian painter, whose portraits of the more prominent chiefs of the various tribes of North American Indians adorn the national museum at Washington. Catlin dates his letters from the mouth of the Teton, which point he had reached after descending the Missouri from the mouth of the Yellowstone, in company with Batiste and Bogard, his compagnons du voyage. "I am living with and enjoying the hospitality of a gentleman by the name of Laidlow," he writes (this in May or June, 1832), "a Scotchman, who is attached to the American Fur Company, and who, in company with Mr. McKenzie (of whom I have before spoken) and Lamont, has the whole agency of the fur company's transactions in the regions of the upper Missouri and the Rocky Mountains.

"This gentleman has a finely built fort here of two or three hundred feet square, enclosing eight or ten of their factories, houses and stores, in the midst of which he occupies spacious and comfortable apartments, which are well supplied with the comforts and luxuries of life, and neatly and respectably conducted by a fine looking, modest and dignified Sioux woman, the kind and affectionate mother of his little flock of pretty and interesting children.

"This fort is undoubedly one of the most important and productive of the American Fur Company's posts, being in the center of the great Sioux country, drawing from all quarters an immense and almost incredible number of buffalo robes, which are carried to the New York and other eastern markets and sold at a great profit. This post is thirteen hundred miles above St. Louis, on the west bank of the Missouri, on a beautiful plain near the mouth of the Teton River, which empties into the Missouri from the west, and the fort has received the name of Fort Pierre, in compliment to Monsieur Pierre Chouteau, who is one of the partners in the fur company, residing in St. Louis, and to whose politeness I am indebted, as I have before mentioned,

for my passage in the company's steamer on her first voyage to the Yellowstone, and whose urbane and gentlemanly society, I have before said, I had during my passage.

"The country about this fort is almost entirely prairie, producing, along the banks of the river and streams only, slight skirtings of timber. No site could have been selected more pleasing or more advantageous than this; the fort is in the center of one of the Missouri's most beautiful plains, and hemmed in by a series of gracefully undulating, grass-covered hills on all sides, rising like a series of terraces to the summit level of the prairies, some three or four hundred feet in elevation, which then stretches off in an apparently boundless ocean of gracefully swelling waves and fields of green. On my way up the river I made a painting of this lovely spot, taken from the summit of the bluffs, a mile or two distant (Plate 85), showing an encampment of Sioux, of six hundred tents or skin lodges, around the fort, where they had concentrated to make their spring trade, exchanging their furs and peltries for articles and luxuries of civilized manufactures."

Catlin's view of this scene (which is No. 384 in the catalogue), taken as he states, from the summit of a bluff a mile or more distant, necessarily reduces the establishment of Fort Pierre to a mere incident in the background of a wide landscape, the motive of which is an Indian encampment, made up of numberless parallel lines of conical tents of a dingy whiteness, in a framework of deep green. The Missouri, like a narrow ribbon of a faint blue tint, winds along the left mid-ground, and is lost behind the opposite bluffs. Mr. Catlin expresses himself as under deep obligations to McKenzie, Laidlow, and to Mr. Halsey,[29] the chief clerk of the establishment, and records the fact that during his stay at the fort, which covered a period of several weeks, he had the pleasure of meeting Major Sanford, the agent of the Sioux, as well as the redoubtable Pierre Chouteau himself. These gentlemen, on their way to the headwaters of the Missouri, seem to have rested a week or two at Fort Pierre, their presence creating the greatest enthusiasm and pleasure to the Indians, more than 6,000 of whom, according to Mr. Catlin, were encamped around the fort.

A rough ground plan of the work, supplemented by the painting of Mr. Catlin, the recollections of Captain Labarge,[30]

still living at St. Louis (1897), who was a steamboat captain on the Missouri, in the employ of Pierre Chouteau & Co., and who journeyed to the spot in 1855 on the steamboat St. Mary, and on behalf of that company delivered over the fort to the United States, and an itemized schedule of the improvements as they were in 1855,[31] enables us to substantially restore the original trading post as it appeared when completed by McKenzie.

The "fort," so-called, was constructed by enclosing an area of something less than two acres of ground by a picket or stockade of cottonwood logs sixteen to twenty feet in length, set upright in the earth and sufficiently deep to give them a firm hold. On the northwest and southeast corners were block-houses twenty-four feet square, two stories in height, each projecting eight feet outside the stockade, built of logs and covered by a hip roof, shingled. The stockade was entered by two gates ten feet in width and sixteen in height, opening from the east.[32] Within this enclosure, which was 280 feet east and west by 300 feet north and south,[33] were some twenty buildings of various description, and devoted to the various purposes of a frontier trading post.

Entering the main gate, which stood nearly in the center of the east front, the buildings first encountered were two one-story houses seven and one-half feet in height, of hewed logs, each 60x24, and separated by a ten-foot passage way, which led into the inner enclosure. The building on the right was the carpenter's shop; that on the left was given over to the blacksmith, the tinner and the saddler. Adjoining these were two long buildings 110x24, and facing them, a third of same dimensions, each of a single story, nine feet in height, built of logs and covered by a shingle roof. The one on the right was the trading-house, or store, where were kept the articles which were given the Indians in exchange for their furs. It was in this building that the bartering went on, and where the courtesies of the company were extended in the form of liquor and tobacco. The other two of the larger buildings were used for quarters for the employes. A building directly in the rear of the westernmost of these, which was also of logs 40x20, was devoted to the kitchens; other smaller log buildings, 24x24, were scattered about the enclosure and used mostly for storing the furs and peltries, awaiting a fitting opportunity to send them down the river to St.

Louis. To the right of the blacksmith's shop were the stables; in the rear of the trading-house the saw mill, and beyond the mill an adobe structure twenty feet square, with tin roof, which was used as a magazine.[34] The place was intended to accommodate from fifty to one hundred men, though few occasions were likely to occur for so great a number. It is improbable that one-half that number were there at any one time for the twenty-five years following its establishment.

The earliest map of this section that was based upon official reconnaissances was that of Nicollet (1843), who visited the vicinity in 1839, and was assisted by Lieutenant J. C. Fremont of the topographical engineers. On this map the trading post appears as Fort Pierre Chouteau. The next was made by Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General) Gouveneur K. Warren of the topographical engineers, who accompanied General Harney on the Sioux expedition of 1855. This map was published in 1859. There are plenty of earlier maps, but none of much value. Warren's map designates it as Fort Pierre, but all the earlier maps, as well as the one made by the Coltons of New York, for Woolworth's Nebraska, in 1857, give the full name. The nature of the elision is unusual, and can be accounted for only on the score of that economy of speech that is peculiar to frontier life. Posts with such designations as Fort John Buford or Fort David A. Russell have quickly become Fort Buford and Fort Russell, but never Fort John or Fort David.[35] Be that as it may, Fort Pierre for the twenty-five years following its establishment, and in fact for many years afterwards, became the most important landmark in the Sioux country. There is nothing to be said of its history during this period that may not be said of any frontier trading post. Its existence was uneventful.

Nicollet,[36] in his journal, remarks that he arrived at Fort Pierre on the 12th of June, 1839, on the steamboat Antelope, owned by the American Fur Company of St. Louis, which, he says, had been controlled by the several firms of Pratte, Cabane & Co., Pratte, Chouteau & Co., and Pierre Chouteau & Co., having left St. Louis on the 4th of April, so that they were sixty-nine days ascending a distance of 1,271 miles. Among his fellow travelers were M. William Laidlow, who was the first manager at Fort Pierre, and was then in charge of the company's establishment at the Yellowstone (Fort Union),[37] and a Mr. Kipp,[38]

also an employe of the company, who was stationed at the post on the Maria (Fort Piegan), together with some sixty or seventy employes of the company—Creoles, Canadians and half-breeds, destined for the various posts of the company. At the time of Nicollet's visit the agents of the factory at Fort Pierre were Mr. P. W. Papin and Jacob Halsey, to whose zeal and interest he is much indebted for the furtherance of his work.

The Trading Posts Multiply

But in the meantime Fort Pierre was being slowly surrounded, and the immense circle of which it was once the center was gradually contracting. The government, which in 1827 had located a large post at a point not far above the mouth of the Kansas under the name of Fort Leavenworth,[39] was rapidly reconnoitering the country, and sending out expeditions in all directions north and west. In 1829 McKenzie had located a post at the mouth of the Yellowstone, the first on the Missouri within the limits of what is now Montana, to which he gave the name of Fort Union. In 1830 he made a treaty with the Piegans, and with their permission, in 1831, erected a post at the mouth of Maria River which he called Fort Piegan.[40] This location proved a mistake, and he built another in 1832 on the south side of the Missouri at a point called Brule Bottom, and called it Fort Brule. It was during this year that three experienced fur hunters, by name Preman, Harvey and Boise,[41] formed a partnership for the Indian trade, and established their headquarters at the point on the left bank opposite Medicine Knoll River, where Pilcher[42] had located a post in 1819, and which the Arickarees had robbed the following spring. They gave to their post the name of Fort George. It was a small affair; a few huts, neither stockaded nor fortified,[43] and the entire establishment, trading post, business, principals and employes, was almost immediately absorbed by the Chouteau company, but the name of the post has survived as a prominent landmark to the present day. Another of Pilcher's posts, Fort Lookout,[44] about the same distance below the Big Bend as Fort George was above it, came into the possession of the Chouteaus at about the same time. It was at this post that Atkinson and O'Fallon had made a treaty with the Tetons, the Yanktons and the Yanktonais on the 22d of June, 1825.

The following year Robert Campbell and William Sublette built another post five miles below Fort Union, under the name of Fort William,[45] and the same year McKenzie erected a large post at the mouth of the Big Horn for the use of the Crows, calling it Fort Van Buren,[46] and this proving an inconvenient point for the Indians he removed it a few miles below, but changed its name to Fort Cass.[47] The next year (1834) the Chouteau company went out as far as possible on the Platte and built Fort Laramie,[48] which in 1849 they sold to the United States, and in 1843 Alexander Culbertson,[49] one of Chouteau's men who had been superintendent at Fort Brule, and later at Fort Laramie,[50] was sent back to the Piegans, and built Fort Lewis,[51] twenty-five miles above the mouth of the Maria. Three years afterwards this post was abandoned and the timbers of which it was constructed rafted down the river eight miles, where Culbertson founded Fort Benton[52] in 1846. About the same time, perhaps a year earlier, the Chouteaus built a post among the Gros Ventres and Mandans, thirty miles below the mouth of the Little Missouri, under the name of Fort Berthold.[53] In 1848, Galpin and Labarge, both employes of the Chouteau company, set up for themselves, and built a number of posts along the Missouri[54] and Yellowstone, among them Fort Campbell,[55] a short distance above Fort Benton, but they soon abandoned the trade and returned to the American Fur Company. The same year Lawender,[56] another rival trader, built Fort Alexander[57] on the Yellowstone, and in 1850 Culbertson went as far as the mouth of the Rosebud and built Fort Sarpy.[58]. This was the last of the trading posts. The country was slowly but surely opening up to settlement, and the primitive methods, which had been ample for dealing with the unsuspicious Indian, were inadequate to meet the new conditions.

The settlements were increasing; and to protect the settlers, no less than to keep open the routes of immigration, the aid of the general government was called in, and the instrument of the government for this purpose was naturally the army. As has been mentioned, the United States had in 1827 built a large fort at Leavenworth, near the mouth of the Kansas, and in 1849 had purchased from the American Fur Company its old post on the north fork of the Platte at the mouth of the Laramie.[59] A year earlier it had located Fort Kearney at a point on the Platte mid-

way between those two; it now (1853) built a large post which it called Fort Riley, at the junction of the Republican and Kansas, about midway between Leavenworth and Kearney; and a second on the Minnesota, under the name of Fort Ridgeley. The trail between Fort Ridgeley and Fort Laramie, the two posts furthest advanced, something over 650 miles in length, crossed the Missouri at Fort Pierre, which was nearly equidistant between them. This was the situation when, in 1855, the repeated and merciless barbarities of the Sioux had reached a point where longer forbearance on the part of the government was not to be thought of.

During the years 1850 to 1854 the Sioux had committed frequent depredations upon the settlers throughout Nebraska and the Dakotas, as well as upon the emigrants passing along the route to Oregon and Utah. On the 19th of August, 1854, Lieutenant Grattan of the Sixth Infantry was sent by the commanding officer at Fort Laramie with thirty men to arrest an offender. The entire detachment was massacred by the Indians with the exception of one man, who escaped severely wounded, and subsequently died. The circumstances of this affair were at first involved in much obscurity, but investigation proved that the massacre was the result of a deliberately formed plan, prompted by a knowledge of the weakness of the garrison at Fort Laramie, and by the temptation to plunder the public and private stores accumulated at and near that post. The number of the Indians engaged in this affair was between 1,500 and 2,000. For the purpose of chastising these Indians, and to protect from further Indian incursions the frontiers of Nebraska and Kansas, as well as the emigrant routes leading from the Missouri to the west, the war department determined to enter the Sioux country in force.

The orders of the secretary of war for this purpose are dated March 22, 1855. They designate Brevet Brigadier-General Wm. S. Harney as the commander of a force of about 1,000 men, to conduct the operations about to be undertaken against the Sioux, and direct him to proceed to St. Louis to complete the preparations for the expedition. The troops selected were the light battery of the Fourth Artillery then at Fort Leavenworth; four companies of the Second Dragoons at Fort Riley; two companies of the Second Infantry from Fort Riley and four from

Carlisle Barracks; six companies of the Sixth Infantry from Jefferson Barracks, three from Fort Laramie and one from Fort Kearney. In the preparation of the plan of campaign it was considered that the theater of operations would be limited on the south by the Platte, on the northeast by the Missouri, and the northwest by the Black Hills, with an area of about 90,000 square miles; that the strength of the hostile Sioux would be about 7,000 warriors, and that a decisive engagement with the whole band was preferable to allowing them to break up into small parties. To accomplish this end, it was determined to establish three depots for the collection of troops and supplies. Fort Kearney, Fort Laramie, and a third at some point on the upper Missouri between the White Earth and Cheyenne, in the vicinity of Fort Pierre.

The United States Buys Fort Pierre

On the following day the quartermaster general directed Major Vinton, the quartermaster at St. Louis, to "obtain the most reliable information possible as to the suitableness of Fort Pierre Chouteau, at the mouth of the Bad River on the upper Missouri, for a depot of supplies." Major Vinton replied on the 30th, enclosing a rough plan of Fort Pierre and of the surrounding country. He reported that he had conversed with Mr. John B. Sarpy,[59] the active partner at St. Louis of the firm of P. Chouteau, Jr. & Co., and from this conversation he gathered that Fort Pierre is unfitted for a depot of supplies for any considerable force. The fort itself is small, and is located in the mauvais terre, where for hundreds of miles there is no grass that can be made into hay; no good ground for corn and fodder, and no fuel within twenty miles. Although he expresses at considerable length decidedly unfavorable opinion of Fort Pierre as a depot, he is compelled to admit that, for the purposes of the contemplated operations, there is no other point on the Missouri more eligible, and on the 9th of April he forwarded a statement from a Mr. Picotte, an old employe of the American Fur Company, much at variance with that of Mr. Sarpy. This view of the case seems to have prevailed at the war department, for on the 14th of April an agreement was entered into between General Charles Gratiot,[60] representing P. Chouteau & Co., and Quartermaster General Jesup, whereby the former agreed to sell to the

United States, for the sum of $45,000, "the trading establishment on the Missouri River, near the mouth of the Little Missouri River, called and known as 'Fort Pierre,' together with all buildings within and around the pickets of said fort, and all the lumber and other materials in and around it, 'as well as' the island in the vicinity," possession to be given on or before June 1, 1855.

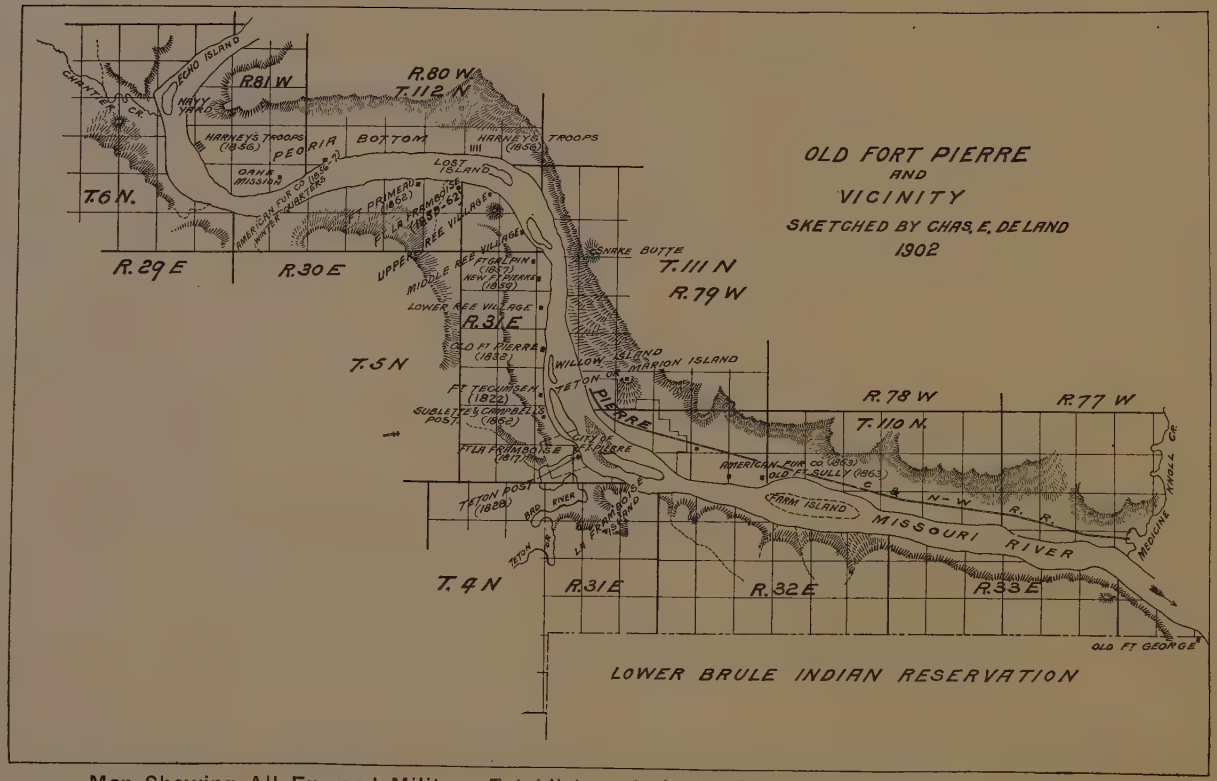
General Gratiot

The appearance of General Gratiot in this transaction was somewhat significant. If we are to credit the volume of parol testimony, the opinions of many prominent officers of his period, including General Scott, as well as of a senate judiciary committee, General Gratiot was perhaps the most—shall we say the best—abused man in the history of the army. To the dispassionate student who writes sixty years after the event, his case appears to have been one in which a most worthy and zealous officer became enveloped in the meshes of red tape and fell a victim to his own obstinacy. This is no place to argue the matter; it will suffice to narrate the cold facts.

Missouri had two appointments in the year 1804 to the military academy, and such was the influence and power of the commercial interests at that period, that both of these most desirable posts were captured by the house of Chouteau. To Auguste, the son of Auguste, who was the eldest son of Madame Chouteau and Pierre Laclede, was given the one, and to Charles, a mere lad of sixteen, the son of Charles Gratiot and Victorie, the eldest daughter, the other. Both graduated well in the class of 1806, young Chouteau going to the Second Infantry, and thence to the staff of General Wilkinson, and Gratiot taking his eighteen years of manhood to the engineers. Promotion was rapid; he was a captain at twenty, a major at twenty-seven, a lieutenant-colonel at thirty-one, and before he was forty he was at the head of his corps, with the rank of colonel and chief engineer of the armies of the United States. In the meantime he had seen hard service in the field under Harrison in the war of 1812-15; had built and helped to build Forts Delaware and Mifflin, Forts Monroe and Calhoun as well as the defenses of the lakes, one of which had been named in his honor. No officer stood higher in the estimation of the army and of his countrymen; none deserved better of the republic.

Like every officer who handles public money (and General Gratiot up to 1835 had handled from ten to twenty millions) he was in interminable correspondence with the auditor; letters of advice concerning allowances and disallowances; statements of differences, demanding explanations of this, of that, and the other. What officer of the army is there who has not been through it all? Gratiot claimed that his accounts had not been settled for twenty years; that he never knew, and was never told, whether he owed the government or the government owed him, until the 19th of July, 1838, when he was directed by the auditor to transfer some $35,000 from one account to another. At this time his pay had been stopped for some months in consequence of disallowances and suspensions; he had been urging, begging and pleading for a settlement; all to no effect. A happy thought strikes him: he will hold on to the small balance in his hands until the government condescends to balance his accounts; that done, both parties can start all over again. He is amazed that the brilliancy of this idea does not strike the secretary of war with equal force. On the contrary, the secretary of war submits the matter to the president, who, on the 28th of November, 1838, decides that General Gratiot is wrong in his position that an officer may retain public moneys to satisfy alleged claims against the government, and directs that he pay over at once to the treasury the sum of $21,654, and $10,058 more within thirty days. Alas for the perversity which usually accompanies a hard head and an obstinate will. Instead of promptly obeying this order, and fearing that to turn over this money would leave him no recourse for the future recovery of the money, he believed to be due him, he filed a demurrer. To this President Van Buren responded on the 4th of December, by summarily dismissing him from the army. And with this, so far as the government was concerned, the incident was closed. No amount of pleading, or threatening, or litigation, or petitioning, ever accomplished the slightest change in the attitude of the war department. No one ever believed that General Gratiot was guilty of anything but stubbornness and obstinacy; his character, so far as we know, was never attacked. All the same, he was ruined, officially, financially, and personally.

Two years later he was given a clerkship in the general land office, which he held until 1855, when, his health undermined



Map Showing All Fur and Military Establishments in the Vicinity of Pierre from 1817 to 1865

and his spirit broken by the neglect of friends and relatives, he returned to his home to die—a victim to bureaucracy? injustice? the ingratitude of republics? Who shall say? His signature to the sale of the old fort of Fort Pierre was the last he ever wrote. It was dated the 14th of April, 1855; on the 18th of May he was dead. But all unknowingly he was contributing to a tardy retribution. He was selling to the government that had driven him out of the army for a paltry eight to ten thousand dollars, a tumble-down trading post, two thousand miles from anywhere, for $45,000, that would have been dear at that many hundreds.

The orders for the movement of these troops were issued under date of March 23d. They provided that the four companies of the Second Infantry at Carlisle, and the two from Fort Riley, should proceed up the Missouri River in boats and establish a post in the vicinity of Fort Pierre; the remainder of the expedition to rendezvous at Kearney and Laramie; Fort Pierre to be the principal depot, where two-thirds of the supplies should be accumulated, and arrangements made for the accommodation of four companies of cavalry and six of infantry. The movement was to be commenced at once.

Owing, however, to the difficulty encountered in obtaining vessels of proper draft, and to the want of reliable information regarding the navigation of the upper Missouri, it was the first week in July before the first troops had reached Fort Pierre. The steamboat Australia, which had been chartered to take the Second Infantry from Fort Leavenworth, sank en route in nine feet of water, and although the troops and baggage were saved, the pubic stores on board were lost and had to be replaced. The government had purchased two light draft side-wheel boats especially for this expedition, the William Baird and Grey Cloud, each drawing twenty-eight inches, and capable of carrying 350 tons on four and one-half feet of water, and had chartered every available boat at St. Louis; yet owing to the low water and difficulties of navigation, every one of them had been compelled to discharge at least half their cargoes at different points. The Baird and Grey Cloud, despite their light draft, proved too large and heavy, so that the supplies shipped in early June from St. Louis did not reach Fort Pierre until the 20th of August. All this operated to delay the expedition, so that it was feared that the season would be too far advanced for active operations.

The Sioux Expedition of 1855

The first boat to arrive at Fort Pierre was the Arabia, on the 7th of July, with headquarters and Company G of the Second Infantry, 109 officers and men. This was followed on the 12th by the Grey Cloud, with eighty-two men of Company A, and the Baird, with eighty-four men of Company I, all under the command of Captain Henry W. Wessells, Second Infantry. On the 14th, Major W. R. Montgomery, the regimental commander, arrived with Major Gaines of the pay department, and assumed command of the post. A few days later they were joined by Captain P. T. Turnley of the quartermaster's department, Captain M. D. L. Simpson, commissary of subsistence, Assistant Surgeon T. C. Madison, and Lieutenant G. K. Warren of the topographical engineers; and these officers and troops formed the first garrison of Fort Pierre. On the 2d of August Captain Nathaniel Lyon, with Company B, Second Infantry, thirty-seven men, and Company C, thirty-five men, arrived on the Clara, and they were joined on the 19th by Captain William M. Gardner, with two officers and eighty men, by the Genoa.

The following is a list of the officers and troops who accompanied the Sioux expedition of 1855-56 or were with the expedition at any time:

Commanding

Brevet Brigadier General Wm. S. Harney, colonel Second Dragoons.

Staff

Brevet Major O. F. Winship, assistant adjutant general.
Captain Alfred Pleasanton, Second Dragoons, acting assistant adjutant general.
Captain Stewart Van Vliet, assistant quartermaster.
Captain P. T. Turnley, assistant quartermaster at Fort Pierre.
Captain M. D. L. Simpson, subsistence department.
Lieutenant Colonel Timothy P. Andrews, pay department.
Major Benj. F. Harney, surgeon.
Captain David L. Magruder, assistant surgeon.
First Lieutenant Geo. T. Balch, ordnance corps.
Second Lieutenant G. K. Warren, topographical engineers.
Second Lieutenant Marshall T. Polk, Second Infantry, aide-de-camp.
Second Lieutenant E. McK. Hudson, Fourth Artillery, aide-de-camp.

Second Dragoons

Lieutenant Colonel, Philip St. Geo. Cooke.
Major, M. S. Howe.
Adjutant, Thomas J. Wright.

Company D—Captain, Lawrence P. Graham; First Lieutenant, Samuel H. Starr; Second Lieutenant, John Pegram.

Company E—First Lieutenant, Wm. D. Smith; Second Lieutenant, Henry B. Livingston; Brevet Lieutenant, James Wheeler, Jr.

Company H—Captain, Alfred Pleasanton; First Lieutenant, John Buford (R. Q. M.); Brevet Second Lieutenant, John B. Villipique.

Company K—First Lieutenant, Wm. Steele; First Lieutenant, Beverly H. Robertson; Brevet Second Lieutenant, Thomas Hight.

Second Infantry

Colonel, Francis Lee.

Lieutenant Colonel, John J. Abercrombie.

Major, Hannibal Day.

Major, Wm. R. Montgomery.

Adjutant, Nathaniel H. McLean.

R. Q. M., Geo. H. Paige.

Company A—Captain, C. S. Lovell; First Lieutenant, Caleb Smith; Second Lieutenant, John O. Long.

Company B—Captain, Nathaniel Lyon; First Lieutenant, James Curtis.

Company C—Captain, Nelson H. Davis; First Lieutenant, Thomas Wright; Second Lieutenant, Marshall T. Polk (A. D. C.).

Company D—Captain, Wm. M. Gardner; First Lieutenant, H. M. McLean (regimental adjutant); Second Lieutenant, John D. O'Connell.

Company G—Captain, Henry W. Wessells; First Lieutenant, George H. Paige (R. Q. M.); Second Lieutenant, Alfred E. Latimer.

Company I—Captain, Delozier Davidson; First Lieutenant, Thos. W. Sweeny; Second Lieutenant, Henry A. Sargeant.

Sixth Infantry

Major, Albemarle Cady.

Company A—Captain, John B. S. Todd; Second Lieutenant, Silas P. Higgins.

Company E—Captain, Samuel Woods; First Lieutenant, Darius D. Clark; Second Lieutenant, James A. Smith.

Company H—Captain, Thomas Hendrickson; Second Lieutenant, Chas. G. Sawtelle.

Company K—Captain, Richard B. Garnett; Second Lieutenant, R. E. Patterson.

Company C—Second Lieutenant, John McCleary.

Tenth Infantry

Company E—Captain, Henry Heth; First Lieutenant, Nathan A. M. Dudley.

Fourth Artillery

Light Battery G—Captain, Albin P. Howe; First Lieutenant, Richard C. Drum; First Lieutenant, Edward McK. Hudson; Second Lieutenant, John Mendenhall.

Troops

Second Infantry—Companies A, B, C. D. G and I
Sixth Infantry—Companies A, E. H and K.
Tenth Infantry—Company E.
Second Dragoons—Companies D, E, H and K.
Fourth Artillery—Light Battery G.

The necessity of leaving small detachments in charge of the stores that had been discharged at various points along the river protracted the conclusion of this primary movement until nearly the first of September. Major Wessells, with his company, had been sent down to old Fort George, twenty miles below the Teton, where the transports had been compelled to leave a portion of their cargoes, and another company was sent to Running Water for a like purpose. This garrison was now the furthest advanced of any that had been thrown into the Indian country. It was 1,525 miles from St. Louis by water—325 from Fort Laramie to the southwest, and 350 from Fort Ridgeley to the northeast. Its nearest postoffice was at Council City, on the Missouri, 425 miles distant, though one was established that winter at Sergeants Bluff, 100 miles nearer.

The early apprehensions concerning the unsuitableness of Fort Pierre for the purpose for which it had been selected are now fully realized. Captain Turnley, the quartermaster, on his arrival, reports that the new post is a gloomy, sterile place—no grass within six miles, no wood within twelve; the huts one-story out of repair, and not worth the expense of repairing; has seen no one authorized to turn over the premises; has no animals except those he has borrowed from the fur company; could take the engine out of the Baird and run the saw mill, if he could get a boiler; is generally disheartened. A board of officers is next assembled to inspect the purchase. They find the whole establishment "in bad order, bad condition and bad repair"; all of the buildings in such a dilapidated condition that they will simply have to be built over again; the pickets rotted off near the ground and falling down; the saw mill old, worn out, and of very little value. They estimate that it will cost $22,000 to put the establishment into anything approaching the condition called for under the agreement of purchase. Then ensued a wordy dispute. Mr. Galpin, the agent of Chouteau, claimed that the company was selling a "trading post" and not a military fort, and that for a trading post it was all it had been represented to

be; that the government has sent more than twice the amount of supplies and number of troops it had agreed to; $3,000 would be an ample allowance for repairs. In the end, the war department paid the full price agreed upon, in sheer disgust at the manner in which it had been duped.

But the inadequacy of the stockade was inconsequential when compared with the utter barrenness of the surrounding country. The fort was delightfully located upon a level plain about 300 feet from the river, and within was reasonably comfortable. Without, was utter desolation. For eight miles below and above the post, on the west side of the river, neither building timber, fuel nor grass could be found that was worth the hauling; on the opposite bank (to cross which was to encounter low water, quicksands and high winds, which last frequently closed navigation entirely for three days at a time) a fair supply of miserable grass could be found ten or twelve miles below, and fuel eight miles above. It would have been difficult to have made a more unfortunate selection. Fort Pierre had no doubt been wisely located in 1830, but its twenty-five years of subsequent occupation had absolutely exhausted the resources of the surrounding country. The statements of Mr. Sarpy, when first approached in St. Louis, as to the suitability of this place for the purposes desired, were fully borne out by the facts; the company had not misrepresented it nor concealed the truth.

Harney Winters at Fort Pierre

General Harney, with his fighting force, arrived on the 19th of October, having marched across from Fort Laramie, skirted the headwaters of the White Earth River,[91] through the Brule country, for one hundred miles, and along the Cheyenne for another hundred. He had found no Indians, but found signs indicating that they had gone toward the headwaters of the Little Missouri and Powder. Deeming it impracticable to penetrate that section so late in the year, he had concluded to go into winter quarters at Fort Pierre. On the 3d of September he had encountered a party of Brules near Ash Hollow, and after a sharp engagement had utterly routed them; the results were eighty-six Indians killed, five wounded, seventy women and children captured, together with all their provisions and camp equipage. Recognizing at once the impossibility of wintering his

command within the fort, he took measures to otherwise dispose of them. The four companies of the Second Infantry, under Major Wessells, were sent to a point on the east bank about five miles above the post,[62] to establish a winter cantonment; two other companies of the Second, with two troops of dragoons, to a point on the east bank eighteen miles above; Major Cady, with four companies of the Sixth Infantry, to a point on the west bank ten miles above, to which he gave the name of Camp Bacon; and Major Howe, with a troop of dragoons and fifty men from the Second Infantry, to a point between the mouth of the White and L'eau-qui-court, to which he gave the name of Cantonment Canfield. Captain Gardner, with the three companies of the Second, who had located on the east bank seven and one-half miles above Fort Pierre, also went into winter cantonment (which he called Cantonment Miller), as did the company at Farm Island. The aggregate of this force was 897 officers and men.

General Harney's report of the situation in December, 1855, is clothed in strong language. He thinks the first arrivals should have lost no time in rendering their position comfortable for the winter; that their disadvantageous position, the dilapidated state of the fort, should have determined them to move on, either up or down the river, to some spot where wood and grass could have been found; that five miles further on, on the east bank, he would have found a position adapted to all his wants. "In conclusion," he remarks, "it was unfortunate that the steamers purchased to transport the troops here were entirely too large for the purpose; it is unfortunate that my orders were disobeyed in that purchase; it is unfortunate the troops did not arrive in this country earlier; it is unfortunate they were stopped here; and most unfortunate of all was the absence of a commander of energy, experience and industry."

On the 25th of April General Harney had been directed to cause a military reservation to be laid off about Fort Pierre of such extent as might be required for public purposes, and this duty was performed by Lieutenant G. K. Warren of the topographical engineers. On account of the limited resources of the surrounding country, he found it necessary to include all the territory between the Antelope and the Chantier. It extended by the river sixteen miles above the post to twelve miles below;

its length east and west was twenty-two and one-half miles, and its breadth north and south twelve and one-half. This gave an area of about 270 square miles, or nearly 175,000 acres, only about 10,000 of which were of any value. He made a very careful survey of the country, and was disposed to believe that the year was an unusual one, and that longer experience may show it to better advantage. At the site of the fort he found the grass to have been killed by the Indian lodges, and all the cottonwood destroyed in giving the bark to their horses in the winter. The landing was a changing one, as high water frequently put a sand bar in front of the fort a half mile wide; the boats were obliged to discharge a mile below the fort. He found Galpin and his party, who had vacated Fort Pierre on the arrival of the troops, camped about four miles above the Chantier,[63] and Dupuis, with the party from Fort George, on the north side of the mouth of the Cheyenne. He concludes that whatever "may be the comparative defects in the site of Fort Pierre for a military post, it is evident that it is the only one in this part of the country that could be occupied this year as a depot, and the labor that will have been expended before another season comes around may render the removal of the post an affair of doubtful expediency."

Searching for a Site

General Harney, however, was unwilling to expend any money upon the site of Fort Pierre, and much of the winter of 1855-6 was devoted to a careful reconnaissance of the surrounding country, with a view to discovering a better one. Several times he thinks he has found it. Under date of January 20, 1856, writing from Ponca Island, in the Missouri, he thinks that a post on the west side of the Big Sioux is indispensable, and that with a second at a suitable point on the Missouri, there will be no longer necessity for keeping up Forts Riley and Leavenworth. But, returning to Fort Pierre on the 22d of February, he has become fully satisfied that after all Fort Pierre is the best position on the river for a depot; that a large force should be established at some point between Fort Clark and the mouth of the Yellowstone, and another at the headwaters of the Little Missouri, and desires that supplies be forwarded to those points at once. But some two weeks later (March 9th) his mind has undergone a change. He has learned of an insuperable objec-

tion to Fort Pierre as a military position, and that is, that freight cannot be landed within five miles above or three miles below. So he has concluded to remove from Fort Pierre to the site of old Fort Lookout, about twelve miles below the Big Bend; is already enagaged in taking down the cottages and will move as soon as he can get a steamboat. He has also decided to establish his second position at a point opposite the mouth of Apple Creek, three miles below Heart River and sixty below Fort Clark, and will send a force to that place as soon as the steamers arrive. His next letters are dated June 30th, and advise the department that he has now no intention of occupying the site near Old Fort Lookout, but has fixed upon a point on the west side of the Missouri, thirty miles above the mouth of the L'eau-qui-court, has caused his stores to be landed there, and will send all the troops from Fort Pierre, except two companies, as soon as possible. He suggests for this post the name of Fort Randall, as a token of respect to the memory of Daniel Randall, late colonel and deputy paymaster general of the army.

It is difficult to reconcile the official reports of General Harney's intentions with his actual performances. It is possible that he was influenced by conditions which it was impossible for him to anticipate or for us to understand at the distance of nearly half a century, for after advising the department of his abandonment of the plan to establish a post at the site of old Fort Lookout, he seems to have lost no time in sending a garrison there. Companies D and H of the Second Dragoons arrived at that point on the 3d of June, 1856, under the command of Captain Lawrence P. Graham, and remained until the 3d of August, when they were relieved by Companies C and I of the Second Infantry from Fort Pierre, and B and D from Cantonment Miller, with a total strength of 278 officers and men, all under the command of Captain Nathaniel Lyon of the Second Infantry. Captain Lyon's order assuming the command of the post directs that "the name of the station be continued—in the absence of orders to the contrary—as Fort Lookout, by which it will hereafter be known." In a letter dated Fort Lookout, Nebraska Territory, September 1, 1856, Captain Lyon remarks that he is located on an elevation gently sloping toward the river, which runs at a good speed, and affords good landing at the point where the river steamer Goddin lands her freight, and is well

adapted for building without any artificial grading; that timber, fuel and grass are tolerably convenient, and that his nearest post-office is at Sioux City, Iowa, 200 miles to the south.

Companies C and I left for Fort Randall during the month of August, but E, G, H and K, with Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie, arrived on the 2d of October; the two first named continuing their march to Fort Randall, leaving the lieutenant colonel with Companies B, D, H and K, five officers and 245 men, to constitute the garrison during the winter of 1856-7. Colonel Abercrombie reports his march from Fort Pierre to have covered 310 miles, and as having been accomplished in twenty-five days; that he found the country traversed to be the worst possible, there being scarcely a stick of wood or a water hole from the James to the Missouri. He has no disposition to question the motives of those who sent him to this barren point, but trusts he may not be required to remain there longer than may be necessary to carry out the purposes of the war department.

In the meantime the small garrison at Fort Pierre were patiently awaiting the outcome of the explorations which General Harney had set on foot. It was August before his dispatches had reached Washington, and by this time a new treaty had been made with the Sioux, by which they promised better behavior in future, and the Sioux expedition had been accordingly recalled. General Harney had been told that the department agreed with him that the vicinity of the L'eau-qui-court is a proper site for a military post, but that it would not be advisable to attempt to establish a post in advance of Fort Pierre. In the meantime Colonel Francis Lee of the Second Infantry had arrived and assumed command of the post, which on the 31st of May numbered nineteen officers and 447 men. But on receipt of these instructions about July 28th, headquarters and Companies B and D left for Fort Lookout, and C and I for the new Fort Randall, leaving A and G, six officers and 169 men, under the command of Captain C. S. Lovell, Second Infantry, who had arrived during the disbandment of the expedition. Company F of the Second Infantry with Captain Alfred Sully and Second Lieutenant R. F. Hunter with thirty-nine men, joined on the 26th of September, when Company G left for Fort Randall, leaving Captain Lovell with Companies A and F, six officers and 110

men, to form the garrison during the winter of 1856-7, which was to be the last occupation of the old trading post.

Fort Pierre Abandoned

As soon as navigation opened in the spring of 1857, the steamer D. H. Morton was sent up the river from St. Louis, and on the 16th of May Captain Lovell and his men embarked for Fort Randall, taking with them all movable stores and property, and Fort Pierre was as a miltary post finally abandoned.

And this was about the last of it as a visible entity. Messrs. D. M. Frost & Co., who had been trading at this and other frontier posts, were appointed custodians of the United States property at Pierre and Lookout, from which latter post the troops had departed for Fort Randall on the 17th of June, and those people seem to have delayed the exercise of their trust until there was little left to guard.

Frost, who, by the way, is still living near St. Louis, a New Yorker of good family who had graduated in 1844 and won his brevet at Cerro Gordo, and had resigned from the Mounted Rifles in 1853 to enter upon a mercantile career, was well known to most officers of the ante-bellum period. After leaving the army he entered politics, became a legislator and senator of Missouri, colonel and general of militia; a visitor to West Point, a writer of some distinction, and a farmer of repute beyond his own horizon. He was among the first to join fortunes with the Confederacy, in whose service he rose to the rank of a brigadier general, and to whose ill-fated cause he contributed the most of his means. His reminiscences of the old army, as General Sheridan used to say, would make "some mighty interesting reading."

Mr. Galpin[63-2] of the American Fur Company had contracted to take down and transport to Fort Randall all the cottages and other movable property, but in doing so he seems to have converted about one-half of it to his own purposes, for which irregularity the government retained something more than one-half the contract money. After Galpin had gone, the Indians came in and took what he had left, smashed in the doors, broke the windows, and plugged up the fireplaces; the elements completed the work. When Captain Paige of the quartermaster's department visited the place in November, he found little more than a shell, but this he repaired as best he could. "It has become

necessary," he reports, "to reduce the form of the fort, cutting off one corner of the rectangular form of it, and leaving out the southeastern blockhouse. I have directed Frost & Co. to repair the picketing so as to include the blockhouse, and for that purpose have directed them to use all logs and lumber found in the vicinity of the fort. * * * On visiting Fort Lookout," he adds, "I found that there was not a single article of any description left there that could be used." But by this time the war department was so thoroughly dissatisfied with its bargain that it was disinclined to have anything more to do with it. "The public should not be subjected to the expense of repairing the buildings or making improvements at Fort Pierre," writes the quartermaster general to Captain Paige, "and no expenditure of its means for this purpose will be allowed."

Then ensued some wordy correspondence; the custodians claiming that the American Fur Company was endeavoring to regain the property, and the latter asserting with equal vehemence that, while it was true that the government was being plundered, it was not being done by the American Fur Company, but by others whom it were unnecessary to name; and in the midst of the controversy the winds and rains were rapidly removing the bone of contention.

Captain W. F. Raynolds of the engineers, who made an exploration of the Missouri and Yellowstone in 1859, held a talk with the Dakota Indians at Fort Pierre on the 18th of June of that year, and on the return from his journey, notes in his diary under date of Septemer 10, 1859: "As we passed old Fort Pierre, I noticed that but little was left of the structure; the remains, consisting of the shell of one row of houses, and the demolition of this was in progress, the material being used in the new fort" (Randall).

Fort Randall

Fort Randall,[65] thirty miles above the mouth of the L'eau-qui-court, or Niobrara, had now become the successor of all the lesser posts on the upper Missouri, as well as the legatee of the Sioux expedition. It was expected to hold the Sioux tribes to their treaty promises; to keep open the highway between Ridgeley and Laramie, and to act as a base of supplies for operations along the upper Missouri. It had been selected by General Har-

ney after a careful reconnaissance of the surrounding country, and on the 26th of June, 1856, a party of eighty-four recruits of the Second Infantry, under the regimental quartermaster, Lieutenant Geo. H. Paige and First Lieutenant D. S. Stanley of the First Regiment of Cavalry, had landed at the point, laid out the post, and set up the first cottages. In August, Companies C and I of the Second Infantry, and D, E, H and K of the Second Dragoons arrived, under the command of Colonel Francis Lee, and these troops constituted the first garrison. It was located on the second terrace above the river, having at the rear a range of hills perhaps one hundred and fifty feet in height, which at a level a little below their summit spreads out into a third terrace in the nature of a rolling prairie. The post was laid out at a situation nearly half a mile from the river, which at this point is nearly 1,000 yards wide, and navigable for light draft steamboats. Two years later, by the treaty of April 19, 1858, with the Yanktonias, four hundred thousand acres of land to the east and northeast was set apart as an Indian reservation for the Yankton tribes, and later a similar tract to the south about half as large was reserved for the Poncas. Between these two bands of Sioux, Fort Randall stood as a sentinel for nearly half a century.

Colonel Lee and the Second Infantry (from 250 to 300 officers and men) formed the garrison from the date of establishment until the summer of 1859, and during this time the career of Fort Randall was uneventful. On the 5th of that month, headquarters and Companies E, L and M of the Fourth Artillery, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel John Monroe, followed a few days later by H and I, arrived, and went into camp just below the fort, and on the 16th the companies of the Second Infantry marched out and those of the artillery took their places. Then followed another two years of quiet. The Indians were peaceable, devoted to the chase and such agricultural pursuits as the country permitted, and rapidly accommodated themselves to reservation life. They disposed of their furs and hides to the traders much as formerly, though the approach of the settler was gradually driving the buffalo and smaller game to the great forests of the northwest. As has been stated, the American Fur Company, after disposing of the establishment at Fort Pierre to the United States, had moved further up the river and located trading houses at the mouths of the Chantier

and Cheyenne, at both of which points there were Indian villages. About the same time another party, under Jo Laframboise, a bois brule, who had served a long apprenticeship to the company along the headwaters of the Mississippi, and had been present in Washington at the signing of the famous treaty with the Sioux on the 29th of September, 1837, which had made possible the creation of Minnesota Territory, had landed on the left bank[65] about four miles above Fort Pierre, opposite Lost Island, where there was a small village of Oahes, and put up a trading house, which soon became known as Fort Laframboise.[66] But on the whole, the fur trade east of the Rockies was nearing its end. The government had extended its paternal hand over the red man; the Indian bureau was sending him calicoes and blankets, groceries and trinkets; was driving to him beef cattle by the thousands, and even supplying him with firearms, with which he afterwards fought the government, and with fire-water, which furnished him the courage and incentive to raid the settlements. But all this was in the future; for the present there was nothing but peace and tranquility from the Big Sioux to the Yellowstone.

All the same the world was moving. Fort Pierre and its entourage, which at first was a part of the great Northwest Territory, had changed their allegiance from Louisiana to Missouri, from Missouri to Nebraska, and from Nebraska to Dakota. An act of congress of May 31, 1854, had authorized the erection in midcontinent of two huge territories, and permitted their inhabitants to decide for themselves whether slavery should or should not exist within their limits. This apparently harmless legislation had formed the occasion for one of the greatest political struggles the world has ever seen. While the upper Missouri was enjoying a monotonous peace, its lower banks were noisy with the strife of an irrepressible conflict. The peaceful days that had marked the existence of the garrisons at Pierre and Ridgeley and Randall had ended; the controversy that began at Lecompton and Lawrence was to end only at Appomattox.

The breaking out of the war of the Rebellion found these five companies of the Fourth Artillery still at Fort Randall, and it was quite a little advanced before it was found convenient to relieve all of them. In May, Companies E, I and L had been sent to the east to be mounted as light batteries, leaving H and

M under the command of Captain John A. Brown, a native of Maryland, and counted to be loyal to the union. About all the other officers had either been ordered east, or on various pretexts had managed to get there. It is said that Captain Brown was induced by his wife—an estimable lady of southern birth—against his own inclinations, to cast his fortunes with the Confederacy; the facts are, that he left his post without permission and was not heard from for several months, or until his resignation reached the war department from a southern city some time in July, 1861. This left the command of the post to the only commissioned officer who remained, Second Lieutenant T. R. Tannatt, and for the following six months this officer and his brave little garrison of something less than one hundred men remained alone and apparently forgotten at this outpost of civilization, surrounded by Indians, whose friendship, at all times doubtful, was made more so by the importunities of Confederate agents, and exposed to dangers far greater than their comrades in the field. It was not until the middle of December, when three companies of the Fourteenth Iowa Volunteers, under the command of Captain Bradley Mahana, from Iowa City and its neighborhood, came up the river from Sioux City and made camp on the river bottom, that relief came. These two artillery companies were then sent to Louisville, Ky., where they were united to form a light battery, and as such performed most valiant and distinguished service in the Army of the Cumberland during the greater part of the war.

Another Fort Pierre

The demolition of old Fort Pierre, while it removed a prominent landmark, had little or no effect upon the perpetuation of the name as a point of rendezvous. Men journeying from opposite ends of the continent still appointed Fort Pierre as a place of meeting; trappers, traders, emigrants, red men and white men of every degree, continued to talk and write and sing of it as though it were still the busy scene on which George Catlin had looked down on that May morning of 1832, when six thousand friendly Sioux were welcoming old Pierre Chouteau at the landing place; even the government, which had itself issued the mandate that had leveled the walls of the old fort, and had transported its materials to build Fort Randall, one hundred miles away,[67]

continued to regard it as an absolute and undisturbed substantiality, making it the scene of present and prospective conferences and rendezvous and meetings, and always and everywhere disregarding its non-existence.[68-1] All this to the confusion of the present historian, no less than to those who have preceded him. But the truth is that, in the parlance of the prairies, the words "Fort Pierre" were in themselves a phrase. They included anything and everything from the Great Bend to the Cheyenne, and between the Jim river and the Black Hills. A recognition of this fact will explain many otherwise contradictory passages in the history of the plains. "I left St. Louis on the 10th of May, 1862," reports Mr. Latta, the agent for the upper Missouri tribes, "in charge of the annuity goods on board the steamer Spread Eagle. We arrived at Fort Pierre on the 27th, where I found from two to three thousand Indians, portions of the several bands of Sioux, awaiting my arrival. In the morning their goods were placed on the shore in seven parcels, conforming as nearly as possible to the population of each; the Brules, Blackfeet, Sans-Arc, Minnicongies, Unc-pa-pas, Two Kettles and Yanktonias, all being Dakota Sioux." Then ensued a consultation, which because of the event that followed is now historical.

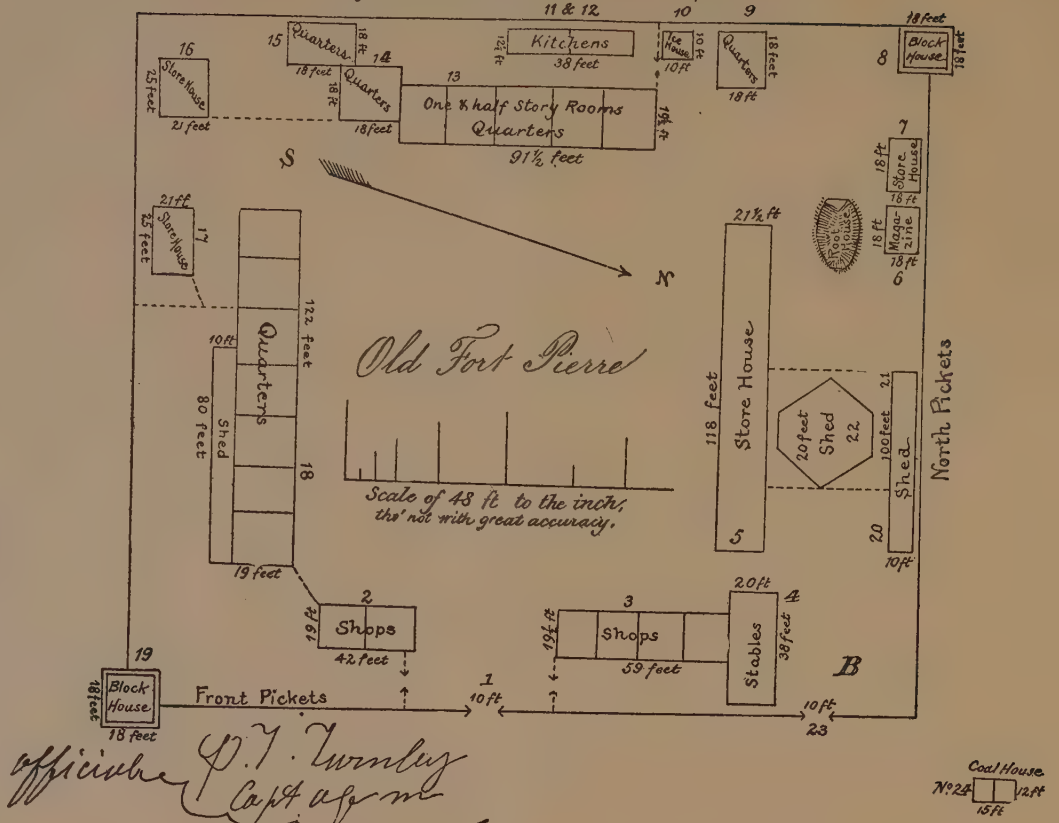
"They stated that they regretted to see me without a military force to protect them from that portion of their several bands who were hostile to the government, and that they were friends to the white men, and desired to live on friendly relations with the government and fulfill their treaty obligations. That General Harney, at Pierre, in 1856, had promised them aid; that they were greatly in the minority; that that portion of their people opposed to the government were more hostile than ever before; that they had, year after year, been promised the fulfillment of this pledge, but since none had come, they must now break off their friendly relations with the government and rejoin their respective bands, as they could hold out no longer; that their lives and property were threatened in case they accepted any more goods from the government; that the small amount of annuities given them did not give satisfaction; it created discord rather than harmony, nor would it justify them to come in so far to receive them; that they had been friends to the government and all white men; had lived up to the pledges made at Laramie in 1857, as far as it was possible under the circumstances,

and still wished to do so, but must henceforth be excused unless their Great Father would aid them.

"They requested me to bring no more goods under the Laramie treaty, nor would they receive those present. The same views were expressed by all the speakers, but after a long parley Bear's Rib, a chief of the Sioux nation appointed by General Harney, a brave and good man, rose and said in the most touching manner, that for eleven years he had been the friend of the white man and the government; that for years he had relied upon promises made by General Harney and former agents to send him assistance, yet none had come; that if he received those presents sent his people by his Great Father, he not only endangered his own life, but the lives of all present; yet he loved his Great Father and would this once more receive for his people the goods present, but closed by requesting me to bring no more unless they could have assistance. A few days after this delivery, and after I had left, that portion of the Sans-Arc band opposed to any intercourse with the government came in from the prairies, assaulted and killed, within the gates of Fort Pierre, this true man,[68] the best friend the white man had in the Sioux nation. Several others were killed in the affray. Bear's Rib was chief of the Unc-pa-pas, and that portion of his band friendly to the government who were present, numbering some 250, are now wandering outcasts in the country."

The scene of this murder, which Mr. Latta locates at Fort Pierre, was actually at the trading post on the left bank, about three miles above the site of old Fort Pierre, which had been established by Jo Laframboise in 1857 or 1858, and had been known for a time as Fort Laframboise.[69] It was built on the bluff on the edge of the river, with neither timber nor grass within a mile, and had been selected merely on account of there being a good landing place at that point. It included a store, store-keeper's dwelling, a barrack for the employes, and two smaller houses, all of logs, and the whole surrounded by a stockade of cottonwood pickets, fifteen feet in height with bastions at diagonal corners. This small establishment soon became known as Fort Pierre, though it was a most unworthy and insignificant successor to the original; many of the first settlers in that section never knew any other. To confuse the situation, the island in the river opposite old Fort Pierre is known to this day as

PLAN OF OLD FORT PIERRE, 1855



Officiate P. T. Turnley
Capt. of m

Laframboise Island,[70] while the island opposite the new fort, on which Jo Laframboise used to pasture his chickens, is known as Lost Island. But this is of course merely en passant.[70-1]

The Sioux Massacres in Minnesota

The growing discontent among the Sioux, growing out of the neglect of the government to fulfill the promises made by General Harney at Fort Pierre in 1856, which were expressed to Agent Latta on the 28th of May, 1862, and more forcibly demonstrated by the murder of Bear's Rib, was rapidly extending, though it was difficult to make any one believe it. Repeated warnings of friendly Indians were laughed at; the whispered reports of trappers and woodmen who were quietly stealing back into civilization, that something serious was on foot, were regarded as the vapid wanderings of a timid fraternity. An outbreak at the Sisseton agency was only prevented by the timely arrival of the troops from Fort Ridgeley; the Indians, balked in their purpose, scattered about the country. On the 17th of August, five persons were murdered at Acton in Meeker county, Minnesota, and this was followed by a series of cruel and barbarous deeds characterized by every savage atrocity and barbarity known to Indian ingenuity. Neither age, sex, nor condition was spared. Within a week from 800 to 1,000 quiet, inoffensive and unarmed settlers fell victims to savage fury. The town of New Ulm, on the Minnesota River, containing from 1,500 to 2,000 inhabitants, was almost entirely destroyed. Fort Ridgeley was attacked, closely besieged, and was only saved by the heroic and unfaltering bravery of its small band of less than fifty defenders. Meantime the utmost consternation and alarm prevailed throughout the entire community. Thousands of homes were abandoned; every avenue leading to the more densely populated sections was crowded with homeless and distracted fugitives. As rapidly as possible armed men were hurried to the scene from St. Paul and vicinity, but it was some days before any considerable force could be dispatched against the Indians, and in the meanwhile they were escaping to the hills, killing, burning and devastating as they went.

The news of the uprising in Minnesota, as usual in such cases, was the signal for an ominous restlessness on the part of even the most peaceable tribesmen within five hundred miles.

On the 8th of September the governor of Iowa telegraphed the secretary of war that the Yanktons, on his western borders, had joined the hostiles; that the settlers were fleeing by thousands; that danger was imminent, and prompt action alone could save a terrible massacre. Similar telegrams came in from the governors of Nebraska and Dakota. There was a regiment under organization at Des Moines, and these men were hurried to Sioux City; the militia of Nebraska and Dakota were called into the field; settlers were fleeing in every direction; every road was lined with terror-stricken families, fleeing from a danger that to the most of them was wholly nebulous. On the 12th the panic had reached Kansas. The governor summoned every able-bodied citizen to organize for home defense, and called upon the war department for five thousand stand of arms. By the 15th of September a large majority of the settlers of eastern and southern Dakota, as well as northwest Iowa, had congregated at Sioux City. All had left in great haste, leaving their stock uncared for, their crops unharvested, in short, had abandoned all their earthly possessions. Bon Homme, Vermillion, and in fact every town and settlement in Dakota was deserted, so that every white man left in the Territory was at Fort Randall or at the Yankton agency, which was being hurriedly fortified. Lieutenant Colonel Nutt, a very bright and observing aide of Governor Kirkwood, who had been sent to the scene of disturbance, writes from Sioux City on the 15th of September that he has every reason to believe that a general Indian war is imminent. He adds: "I saw, while at Sioux City, Captain Lu Barje,[71] who had just returned with his boat from the upper Missouri. Captain Lu Barje has been in the American Fur Company's employment for twenty-five years, and says that never before this trip have the Indians been unusually hostile. He says the whole Sioux Nation is bound for a war of extermination against the frontier, but says they will not come to Sioux City, but go down by Forts Laramie and Kearney and beyond. Captain Lu Barje says that the British government, through the Hudson Bay Company, are, in his opinion, instigating all these Indians to attack the whites. He says British rum, from Red River, comes over onto the Missouri River, and British traders are among them continually. I have great confidence in his judgment and opinion. He says there are at present no Indians within three hundred miles of

Sioux City, on the Missouri River, but that government must send a force and punish these Minnesota Indians, or the whole western frontier, from St. Paul to New Mexico, will be attacked; but if those are punished, he thinks the rest will be all good Indians, and no danger." In the meantime, all southeastern Minnesota was aroused, and the hastily summoned troops under Sibley were on the trail of the fugitives, who were making rapidly for the Dakota frontier.

Sibley Pursues Them

Colonel H. H. Sibley, to whom had been intrusted the pursuit and punishment of Little Crow and his diabolical band, was perhaps the best known, and certainly the most popular, man in the northwest for more than the decade preceding the Civil War. He had been a woodsman, trapper, a hunter of big game, an attache and then a partner of the American Fur Company, by means of which he had acquired a handsome competency. Then he had gone into politics as a diversion; spent a term in congress as a representative from Wisconsin and two more from Minnesota; the latter so satisfactorily, that he was transferred to the gubernatorial chair at St. Paul. After two terms he declined a re-election, refused, as well, to don the senatorial toga, and, tired of worldly honors, built him a magnificent establishment at Mendota, the first stone house in Minnesota, and retired to live out his days as a country gentleman. This was where the news of the infamous deeds of the Dakota Sioux found him, about 4 o'clock on the afternoon of the 21st of August. Springing into the saddle, he rode into St. Paul, where he met Governor Ramsey, who gave him the necessary authority to pursue the murderers; gathered a party of twenty-five horsemen—all he could find who were prepared to start at a moment's notice—and before daylight of the 22d was on the road to Ridgeley. Within less than five weeks he had organized a force of 1,500 men, marched 250 miles, corralled the Indians near the Yellow Medicine, where he attacked and soundly whipped them on the 23d of September, leaving the most active of the warriors dead on the field. Two days later he rounded up the balance and captured something over 2,000, with all their property, the most of which had been stolen from the settlers. Little Crow managed to escape with about 300 of his followers, but was ultimately

chased into the Black Hills and killed without much mercy. In course of time the ringleaders were tried by military commission, found guilty and sentenced to hang, but through the sympathy of the president all but about forty of them managed to escape a penalty so thoroughly deserved.

Fort Thompson

If we have wandered for a moment from the immediate vicinity of Fort Pierre, it is that we may the more readily return to it. The old scene is about to take on a renewed life; to awaken once more at the shrill notes of the reveille, and start into action at the sound of "boots and saddles." The uprising in Minnesota had created a new ground of hatred of the red man, and a determination to give him no quarter in the future. The effect of their outrages was naturally to incense the white people of Minnesota against, not only the individual perpetrators and their tribes, but against all Indians within their borders. This sentiment found expression in the act of congress of February 21, 1863, whereby the president was authorized to remove the Winnebagos from Minnesota to unoccupied lands beyond the limits of any state. In the carrying out of this law it was determined to locate them, together with the Mississippi Sioux, on the Missouri River at some point within one hundred miles of Fort Randall, where they might be secure from any danger or intrusion from the whites. Mr. Clark W. Thompson, the very efficient superintendent of Indian affairs for what was called the northern superintendency, who had been sent forward to select the location, assisted by Agent Burleigh and some officers from Fort Randall, examined the surrounding country and finally fixed upon the mouth of Crow Creek, about midway between Fort Randall and Fort Pierre, and there, on the 30th of May, 1863, they landed the Indians, 3,250 in number, and their belongings, and laid off their reservation. Assisted by a detail of sixty soldiers from Fort Randall, they erected all necessary agency buildings within a square of about 400 by 300 feet, which they surrounded by a stockade of cottonwood logs. A company of volunteers from the Sixth Iowa Cavalry was left as a guard, which was joined later by a second company, and these, with the ordinary white employes and camp followers, made up a community that formed one of the largest in the territory. Although offi-

cially known at Washington as the Winnebago or Crow Creek Agency, the stockaded character of the establishment, assisted perhaps by the disposition of all frontier people to identify points of rendezvous by the name of fort, soon caused it to become locally known as Fort Thompson, no doubt in compliment to its energetic founder, and as "old Fort Thompson" it still appears on the maps.[72]

Thirty years after, in a pamphlet of local circulation which I have happened upon by chance, an old Iowa cavalryman, who marched with Sully in 1863, is thus minded to recall his visit to the Winnebago settlement in 1864. It is the only photograph we shall ever have of old Fort Thompson:

"It is laid out in a square some three hundred feet each way. Around the whole square was dug a ditch some three feet deep, and the same width. In this are set cedar pickets fifteen feet long, which leave them twelve feet above ground. On the west side are two stores and one warehouse, just coming out flush with the pickets. On the north side is the Winnebago school house, the interpreter's quarters, the agent's quarters, and the doctor's quarters. On the corner were barracks for soldiers. On the east side are the boarding house, blacksmith, wagon-maker's and carpenter shops. On the south side are the Sioux buildings, one doctor's quarters, two agents' quarters, the three interpreters' quarters, and four school houses, and on the corner, barracks for soldiers. On the northwest and southeast corners are bastions outside of the pickets. The pickets are sawed on three sides, the outsides being left rough. Holes for guns were made some eight feet from the ground and about twelve feet apart. On the north and south sides are each a gate, made of the same kind of material as the pickets. The saw mill is on the west side of the fort and about fifteen rods from it in the edge of the timber. Still further on in the timber are the Indian wigwams. The river is about half a mile from the fort and pretty heavy timber. It is situated on a beautiful plain, and in a fine place for defense. Such is Crow Creek as I saw it." *

The Sioux Campaign of 1863

We left Little Crow fleeing from the battlefield of Wood

*From "Three Years Among the Indians in Dakota," by J. H. Drips, sergeant Company L, Sixth Iowa Cavalry. (Kimball, S. D., 1894.)

Lake, where Sibley had administered such a drubbing as was to free Minnesota for all the future from all dread of the redman. This was about the 25th of September. With about three hundred warriors he followed up the Minnesotas as far as the Lacqui-parle, where he struck for the Dakota line, which he crossed at about the location of the present town of Elkton, in Brookings county, where the Burlington & Cedar Rapids railway crosses the Chicago & North-Western; thence following nearly due west along what was known forty years ago as the Medary trail, and avoiding the settlements, he crossed the James at about the present site of Huron, in Beadle county, and made camp not far from the headwaters of Crow Creek. From this point he sent a messenger to the Yanktons, many of whom had left their reservation near Fort Randall, and to the tribes on the upper Missouri. On the 24th of December Governor Jayne of Dakota, telegraphed the president that Little Crow, White Lodge, Sleepy Eyes, Pawn and Bighead, with from 500 to 1,000 Santee and Yankton warriors, are on the Missouri above Fort Pierre preparing for an early spring campaign against the whites; that they are burning, robbing, murdering, and driving out every person in that region, and that the whole territory is in a condition of terror." This was the first intimation that Little Crow had succeeded in gaining accessions to his murderous company. On the 27th of December, thirty-eight of those captured at Wood Lake were hanged at Mankato, and the news, which was carried with the speed of the wind to Little Crow, simply infuriated him. From this moment he vowed an unrelenting war against the race, and before spring had opened he had killed or driven every white person from the territory.

In the early stages of the Indian uprising General John Pope, who had been more or less of a failure at the head of the Army of Virginia, had been sent to the scene of the disturbances, and given the new department of the northwest, a command more in harmony with his undoubted military and executive ability. Pope lost much time in setting his Dakota campaign in motion; perhaps no more than was necessary, as the troops and wagon trains were slow in getting to him and the winter was an uncommonly severe one. His plan was for Sibley to move in two columns, each of 2,500 men, and six pieces of artillery, the one from the mouth of Yellow Medicine along a line due west, the second

along the Big Sioux west by south; both to push forward cautiously and scour the valley of the James. It was believed that Little Crow was in the vicinity of Devil's Lake, but would be moving south as soon as the grass was high enough to feed his animals. Sibley was to engage him, if possible, if not, to drive him toward the Missouri. At the same time a third column, under John Cook, an Illinois colonel, who had just been made a brigadier general, and sent to bring order out of the chaos at Sioux City, was to move up the Missouri from Fort Randall, so as to intercept the Indian retreat. It is possible that these plans, if carried out, would have speedily ended the campaign. Why they were not, it is difficult to say. To the ordinary observer of today, who has merely the official documents to guide him, the whole campaign looks very much like a blunder. It may have been a stroke of genius. It depends, no doubt, upon the point of view. After much backing and filling, angry correspondence, and petulant, if not querulous, fault-finding, Sibley got away from Fort Ridgeley on the 23d of June, 1863, with 2,000 infantry, 800 cavalry, and some mountain howitzers, and marched direct for Devil's Lake. where Little Crow had been some months earlier, but where he had not been for some time.

Cook, after leading his column as far as Randall, had been superseded by Alfred Sully, a regular officer of excellent repute, who had been made a colonel of Minnesota infantry, and promoted to a brigade in September, 1862, and Sully, with 2,000 cavalry and 325 infantry, left Randall about the same time for Fort Pierre, which he had fixed upon as the site for a depot of supplies. Sully's troops were made up from the Forty-first Iowa Infantry (mounted), the Sixth Iowa Cavalry and one company of the Seventh, the Second Nebraska Cavalry, two companies of Dakota cavalry and a detachment of the Thirtieth Wisconsin; Sibley had the Sixth, Seventh, Eighth, Ninth and Tenth Minnesota Infantry, the First Minnesota Mounted Rangers and the Third Minnesota Battery, 2,800 all told, most of them raw levies, indifferently equipped and hastily organized. Sibley had begged for a stronger force and more cavalry, insisting that the Indians outnumbered him, were well mounted, and a formidable foe at all times; were doubly so under the present conditions. Pope was surprised at this timidity; he had never known so large a body of troops having been assembled for Indian operations; in

fact, it was as large as one-half the old army before the war. So far from having too little force he thought Sibley had more troops than he needed; he outnumbered the Indians many times. Sully's slow movements and deliberation were equally amazing to Pope. He is surprised and disappointed at his delay, and sees no excuse for it. It is painful for him to find fault, but he is driven to it. The spring has opened and passed; summer is well advanced; June and July have gone, and August nearly so, before anything has been done toward crushing the insignificant force under Little Crow.

The truth was, the task that had been assigned to Sibley and Sully was no common one. No such concentration of force had ever been made by the savages of North America, as that which confronted us on the plains of Dakota in the summer of 1863. The remnant of the bands who escaped with Little Crow, themselves the most daring and merciless of their tribes, had successively visited the Sissetons, the Cut-heads, the Yanktons, and finally the Chank-ton-ais,[72-1] the most powerful band of the Dakotas, and together with nearly every young warrior of all these tribes had formed a camp of nearly, if not quite, 10,000 fighting men and 15,000 to 20,000 horses. These savage warriors of the plains had in the great majority never been met in battle by American soldiers. A few of the old men could remember Harney and Ash Hollow, but their tales were not believed. They had boasted that no hostile army, however numerous, would dare set foot upon the soil of Dakota, of which they claimed to be the undisputed masters. General Pope had been badly informed. Had Sibley moved when he had expected him to do so he would have undoubtedly been annihilated. Had Sully cut away from his wagons early in July, as Pope had directed, he would never have needed them again. As it was, nothing more strategic than a combination of fortuitous circumstances, saved both columns from crushing defeat.

Sibley Crosses Dakota

Sibley found, as he had expected, that there were no Indians at Devil's Lake. With 1,400 infantry and 500 cavalry, he left Camp Atkinson on the 21st of July and moved west-southwest to the James, crossed the Grand Coteau and made for the Missouri. A line drawn west by south from the present town of

Minnewaukon in Benson county, to Bismarck, will closely follow the route of Sibley's column in 1863. On the 24th he ran into a party of some 1,000 to 1,500 Indians on the prairie near a salt lake where he was about to make camp, and without giving him time to prepare they were upon him. His guns were loaded with spherical case and shrapnel and poured into the yelling column of painted demons, and a gallant charge won him the battle of Big Mound. Two days later he repeated the tactics of Dead Buffalo Lake, and on the 28th fought the battle of Stony Lake, which won him his brevet, and drove the enemy across the Missouri in the direction of the Black Hills. Sibley went into camp on Apple Creek at a point about three miles below the present site of Bismarck, still known as Burnt Boat Island, and there waited ten days for Sully. He had made a march of more than 600 miles, in a season of fierce heat and unprecedented drought, routed the enemy in three engagements and driven him across the Missouri. Although Sibley's description of his route would no doubt be interesting reading for the good people who have since found delightful homes in that very section, a paragraph must suffice.

"The region traversed by my column between the first crossing of Cheyenne River and the Coteau of the Missouri, is for the most part uninhabitable. If the devil were permitted to select a residence upon the earth, he would probably choose this particular district for an abode, with the redskins' murdering and plundering bands as his ready ministers, to verify by their ruthless deeds his diabolical hate to all who belong to a Christian race. Through this vast desert, lakes fair to the eye abound, but generally their waters are strongly alkaline or intensely bitter and brackish. The valleys between them frequently reek with sulphurous and other disagreeable vapors. The heat was so intolerable that the earth was like a heated furnace, and the breezes that swept along its surface were as scorching and suffocating as the famed Sirocco. Yet, through all these difficulties, men and animals toiled on until the objects of the expedition were accomplished."

Failing to learn anything of Sully's whereabouts, and deeming it inadvisable to follow the Indians into the Black Hills, which, from all accounts, were something infinitely worse than the country he had just traversed, he lost no time in returning

to Minnesota, leaving the unfinished task to Sully, who, he had no doubt, was near at hand with fresh and well-mounted troops. Sibley had accomplished all that was possible for him, and more than Pope had any right to expect. His men were all Minnesota farmers, willing to defend their own state, but under no obligations to spend the fall chasing Indians across the continent, while their own crops were waiting to be harvested. Sibley professed to believe that by his three insignificant victories he had broken the back of the insurrection. As a matter of fact, he had merely scratched its epidermis; for as soon as his back was turned toward home, the Indians recrossed the Missouri, and in a week were back on their old hunting grounds, having met and massacred a party of twenty-four men and women on their way.

Sully at Fort Pierre

Sully had not been able to get away from Sioux City as soon as expected. The Sixth Iowa Cavalry had left on the 18th of May and established the depot at Fort Pierre as early as the 4th of June; but it was sixty days later before the entire expedition had assembled. General Sully, in person, had left Sioux City on the 18th of June, and Fort Randall on the 10th of July, with a column of about 1,200 cavalry, 325 infantry and 120 wagons. His orders were to follow up the Missouri to the point nearest to Devil's Lake, where the Indians were supposed to be concentrated, and then to cross the country to cut off the retreat of the Indians, who by that time it was expected Sibley would be driving towards the Missouri. At the same time, in order to quiet the apprehensions of the people of Nebraska, a portion of his column was to move up the south side of the Missouri, joining the main body at the point of departure. Sully was rationed for four months, his rations being carried on steamboats, which accompanied him up the river. Having reached the point of departure, he was to load his rations on his wagons, cut loose from his base, and move toward Devil's Lake with the utmost celerity. To Pope, at Milwaukee, these plans appeared so simple and feasible, that in his letters to General Halleck he already felicitated himself on their happy accomplishment, and inquired what he should do with the Indians after he had corralled them.

From Randall to the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, which Sully had fixed upon as the point where he would leave the river,

is a trifle under three hundred miles by water, and from fifty to sixty more by land.[73] With his troops on both sides of the river, and impeded by heavy roads, with mud to the hubs of his teams, his progress was naturally restricted to the pace of his infantry, so that it was the 25th of July before he reached Fort Pierre, where his advance had been waiting since the 4th of June.

The point at which Sully established his depot was on the left bank opposite Lost Island, at the old trading post that had been built by Laframboise[74] in 1857. The "fort" stood on the bluff, several hundred feet from the underbrush which lined the course of the river, in the midst of a plain that was absolutely barren of vegetation, even of the short grass that covers everything elsewhere in that section. The establishment comprised a store and storekeeper's house and a long building about 50x20, then occupied by one company of the Forty-first Iowa Infantry, the whole surrounded by cottonwood pickets standing about twelve feet out of ground and sunk to a depth of three or four, the usual bastion in the form of blockhouses at diagonal corners. Sully used the enclosure to store some of his supplies; there was very little room for them there, and he decided to leave the bulk of them on board the boats. The Sixth Iowa Cavalry made their camp on the river bottom under the bluff below the fort, and the Second Nebraska above it. He also left a company of the Seventh Iowa at the site of old Fort Pierre, three miles below.

The expedition moved out of the camp at Fort Pierre on the 14th of August, with a troop of cavalry in the advance, followed by the general and his staff and escort (which at this time was Company I of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry), a battery of five mountain howitzers, his wagon train, flanked by the Second Nebraska on the left and the Sixth Iowa on the right, the ambulances and rear guard. Two days later he reached the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, when he was compelled to wait for his rations, which had started on the Belle Peoria on the 12th, but had been delayed on account of low water. The steamboat arrived on the 19th, but a severe hail storm on the 20th stampeded his animals and destroyed all the rations that had been loaded into the wagons, besides soaking the roads and rendering travel almost impossible. He managed to get away on the afternoon of the 21st and followed up the Little Cheyenne as far as Bois Cache. Here he left the river and crossed the prairie to the foot

of Long Lake, where he first heard that Sibley had finished his campaign and returned to Minnesota. This was anything but encouraging, but there was nothing to do but push ahead. On the 3d of September his scouts reported an Indian encampment a few miles in advance of the column, which turned out to be a portion of the party that had been chased across the Missouri by Sibley and had returned along his trail and located themselves in fancied security in the ravines around Long Lake. Sully reports that the party numbered not less than 1,500, including Santees, Cut-heads, Yanktonais, Blackfeet and Uncapapas. He had ten miles to go to reach them, and although the distance was covered at a gallop, and his troops engaged at a dozen points, the enemy had plenty of time to scatter, and, night coming on, he was compelled to abandon the pursuit. This, Sully calls the battle of White Stone Hill, and it happened in sight of a hill on the open prairie near the headwaters of Elm Creek and about fifteen miles west of the James River. He lost one officer and seventeen men killed, one officer and thirty-four men wounded, and thinks he must have killed fully one hundred of the Indians; his prisoners included thirty-two men and one hundred and twenty-four women.

The Campaign Ended

Ascertaining from his scouts that the enemy had vanished, and finding that his rations were barely sufficient to enable him by rapid marches to reach Fort Pierre, he took up his return march on the 6th of September, and finding his boats waiting at the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, he loaded his wagons and wounded and returned along the river road to Fort Pierre, where he arrived on the 14th, and went into winter camp. And this ended the Sioux campaign of 1863.

Pope had written Sully most impatiently on the 25th of August: "It is painful for me to find fault," he writes, "nor do I desire to say what is unpleasant, but I feel bound to tell you frankly that your movements have greatly disappointed me, and I can find no satisfactory explanation of them. As soon as you receive this letter you will please cross to the south side of the Missouri, and having loaded your wagons with provisions and ammunition and such medical supplies as are absolutely needed, you will make a thorough campaign in Nebraska, proceeding as

far to the west and northwest as possible before the winter overtakes you. It is desirable that some cavalry force be stationed this winter at Fort Pierre, or in that neighborhood, and provision should be made accordingly. You will please send the necessary orders to the proper officer of your district for this purpose. Your command will occupy Fort Pierre or the neighborhood, Fort Randall and Sioux City for the winter, as also such points to the east of Sioux City as will effectually secure the settlements in Dakota and the border settlements of Iowa."

And again, on the 31st of that month, he writes that he had intended to say "Dakota" in his letter of the 25th instead of Nebraska. "It is my purpose," he adds, "that you move from Fort Pierre to the Black Hills, and thence north and northwest as far as practicable before the cold weather begins. These movements, as far as their direction is concerned, will depend, of course, upon the locality of the hostile Indians, but it is your special mission to deal finally, if possible, with the hostile Sioux driven across the Missouri River by General Sibley, and to prevent in all events their return to the borders of Minnesota in any large force. If you follow them and press them closely they will, no doubt, in their present destitute condition, seek to make terms with you."

He cannot leave the subject, however, without again expressing his opinion of Sully's procrastination: "Your presence on the upper Missouri in time to have co-operated with General Sibley would probably have ended Indian troubles, by destroying or capturing the whole body of Indians which fought General Sibley, but your failure to be in proper position at the proper time, however unavoidable, renders it necessary that you should prosecute with all vigor and dispatch the campaign I have marked out for you."

Fort Sully Built

By the time Sully received these dispatches he had finished his campaign and was settling his command for the winter. Whatver he may have thought of Pope's opinions and rebukes he neglected to put on record. Those who recall the choice vocabulary of expletives which General Sully always carried about with him, will have no difficulty in supplying the link that must be forever missing to this narrative. In looking about for

the best point to establish his post he fixed upon Farm Island,[78] about midway between old Fort Pierre and old Fort George; in fine, at the very point where General Harney had posted Sully himself when a captain of the Second Infantry in 1857, and to whom, no doubt, it recalled agreeable memories. There is not much to be said for it from an architectural point of view. It was built of logs, as indeed was everything else of the nature of shelter in that section; a few buildings to store the equipage and rations and cover the heads of four companies; a stockade of cottonwood logs; a blockhouse, with port holes for the howitzers. On the 13th day of October it was pronounced ready for a company, and its garrison marched in; headquarters and three companies of the Thirtieth Wisconsin; three companies of the Sixth and three of the Seventh Iowa Cavalry, all under the command of Lieutenant Colonel E. M. Bartlett of the Thirtieth Wisconsin, who, in his order assuming the command, announces that the post is to be known as Fort Sully, "in compliment to our brave commander, Brigadier General Alfred Sully, U. S. Volunteers, now commanding the District of Iowa and Dakota." Again are we indebted to Sergeant Dripps for a glimpse of the first Fort Sully, and this is how it looked to him in November, 1863:

"In conclusion, I will just add a word of description in regard to Fort Sully and the winter quarters of our regiment, and close. Sully is situated on a plain or bottom of the Missouri River, on the east side, about eighty rods from the river. It is opposite or a little above Farm Island.[78] It is built on two sides, east and west, with barracks; on the north and south with pickets. The buildings are of cottonwood logs, unhewn, and are about seven or eight feet high, covered over with logs and brush and then earth thrown over them. The pickets are the same material, set into the ground about three feet, standing out some twelve feet above ground. The fort is 270 feet square, and there are bastions on the southeast and northwest corners, in which are placed cannon for the defense of the fort. This is pretty well fixed for defense, and cannot be taken very easily by the Indians, and is a good place for defense. Such is the fort that we helped build last summer, taking a great deal of time and labor, and which was by some set down as sheer folly. But

be that as it may, it will be a memorial of the labors of the Indian expedition under General Sully."

It remains to dispose of the balance of Sully's troops for the winter of 1863-4, a winter that has gone into meteorological history as one of the severest that ever visited Dakota. The Second Nebraska Cavalry, being nine months' men, had reached the end of their enlistment by the time of the return of the expedition, and had been sent home to be mustered out; Company K of the Sixth Iowa Cavalry was stationed at Fort Thompson, at Crow Creek; Companies A, D, G and L at Fort Randall; Company M at Vermillion; Company I at Spirit Lake; Company F at Tackets; while Companies C, B, E and H, with I of the Seventh, accompanied General Sully to Sioux City. Tripp's troops of Dakota cavalry went into camp opposite Fort Randall, and Miner's troop watched the reserve at Yankton.

As for old Fort Pierre, it had again lapsed into the mere trading post for which it had been erected.[77] All the military supplies that had been stored at that point had been removed to Fort Sully, and this latter post now became the base of future military operations in that section. And here we leave Fort Pierre, not because its story has been exhausted, but rather that the latter chapters of its history belong to the civil development of the territory. We are not presuming to write the history of Dakota, though the abundance of material is such as to tempt the historian, nor of the campaigns by which the Sioux were finally convinced of the utter futility of resistance, and thrashed into submission. It would be interesting to watch the disappearance of the old trading house; the coming of the surveyor; the land agent; the tax collector; the town meeting, and all the various processes of evolution through which a thousand frontier posts have been transformed into the towns and cities that dot the plains of America from ocean to ocean. But, as Kipling would say—that is another story.

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EDITORIAL NOTES ON
Old Fort Pierre and Its Neighbors

By CHARLES E. DE LAND

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[1]**No Military Protection**—The supposition that Fort Pierre was sustained by the military is erroneous. No military force was ever stationed at or near old Fort Pierre until General Harney was sent to that point in 1855 on the first Sioux expedition. The Leavenworth expedition of 1823 was sent out from Fort Atkinson (sixteen miles above the site of Omaha) against the Aricarees, who had in 1823 attacked General Ashley in the Grand River country some 150 miles above where Fort Pierre was afterwards built. And when the movements under General Harney were ended in 1858, or thereabouts, the career of old Fort Pierre as the great monument of the fur trade of the region of which it was the center was practically ended, though operations in that trade were continued on a smaller scale until about 1863.

[2]**Druillard Not a Partner**—The partners of Lisa were William Morrison and Pierre Menard, of Kaskaskia, Illinois, as Lisa, Menard & Morrison. Menard had been associated with St. Louis parties before that time, in the fur business. Druillard was, however, one of the principal aids of Lisa, and with Colter (who was met at the mouth of the Platte and was prevailed upon to join Lisa's party and return up the Missouri with them) constituted the chief reinforcements in the pioneering of the expedition into the Yellowstone country. (See Chittenden's "American Fur Trade," vol. 1, pp. 114-19, 138, note.)

[3]**Fort Manuel**—Also known as Fort Lisa, or Manuel's Fort. It was erected at the junction of the Yellowstone and Big Horn rivers, on the south bank of each. It was the first American trading post established upon the upper rivers.

[4]**Not the American Fur Company**—This is erroneous, as to the name of the company, though authority existed for referring to the organization by that name. It is not improbable that the author bases his statement upon an item found in Billon's "Annals of St. Louis," published in 1888, wherein, under the head of "Historical Items" from the St. Louis Gazette, this statement appears on page 33: "1809—Early in this year, Wm. Clark, Manuel Lisa and Silvestre Labadie formed a copartnership

under the title of the American Fur Company, with a capital of $27,000—$9,000 each, to trade with the Indian tribes, in the upper Missouri to the mountains." The real name of the company was St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company, or as it was commonly known, Missouri Fur Company. This is shown by a subsequent entry in Billon (page 123) of a newspaper item under date of 1812, headed "Missouri Fur Company," stating the capital at $50,000, and adding: "Silvester Labbadie, Wm. Clark and Manuel Lisa, the old company, hold $27,000 in goods, etc., up the Missouri River. Subscriptions desired for the remaining $23,000." Dated February 1, 1812. The original incorporators of the St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company were: Benjamin Wilkinson, Pierre Chouteau, Sr., Manuel Lisa, Auguste Chouteau, Jr., Reuben Lewis, William Clark, Sylvester Labadie, all of St. Louis; Pierre Menard and William Morrison, of Kaskaskia, Illinois; Andrew Henry, of Louisiana, Missouri, and Dennis FitzHugh, of Louisville, Kentucky.*

In a subsequent note to this article will be given a succinct account of the origin of the American Fur Company.

[5]**Location of Fort Manuel**—Chittenden (vol. 3, p. 956) states that this post "was on the west bank of the river—just above latitude 46° N." or north of the northern boundary of South Dakota.

[6]**Fort Clarke,** the great trading post at which the Mandans, Minitaras, Gros Ventres, Assinaboines, and other tribes in that vicinity traded, was established some twenty-two years later (1831) on the west side of the Missouri about 55 miles above Bismarck and some eight miles below the mouth of the Big Knife River; it stood about 80 to 90 paces from the bank of the river, and about 300 paces below the Mandan village on that side, and was about three-quarters of a mile below and on the opposite bank of the river from old Fort Mandan established by Lewis and Clarke. Fort Clarke was named for General William Clarke, of the Lewis and Clarke expedition. It was built by or under the supervision of James Kipp, a Canadian of German descent, for the American Fur Company. It was 132 by 147 feet, and substantially built. In the wooded bend some three miles below was the lower Mandan village. The third Mandan village in that locality was on the east bank and a little above Fort Clarke, as stated; and there the Lewis and Clarke party built Fort Mandan in the winter of 1804-5, the official report stating that it "is situated in a point of low ground, on the north side of the Missouri, covered with tall and heavy cottonwood." There were two rows of sheds forming an angle, each row containing four rooms 14 feet square; the general inclosure being otherwise palisaded, there being two storerooms within it.

Precisely the spot where Lisa built the post mentioned in the text is matter of some speculation, but it was probably in the immediate

*Billon states, from "Gazette Items," in 1820, that the Missouri Fur Company was organized with Manuel Lisa as president, and by Thomas Hempstead, Joshua Pilcher, Joseph Perkins, Andrew Woods, Moses B. Carson, Jno. B. Zenoni, Andrew Drips and Robert Jones (p. 68). This was probably a reorganization of the company.

vicinity of the later Fort Clarke; yet Chittenden states that what he calls "Lisa's Fort" was the next post to be built in the locality of Fort Mandan after the latter was established, and that it stood on the southwest bank of the Missouri "ten or twelve miles above the mouth of the Big Knife near where the names Emanuel Rock and Emanuel Creek now are"; that it was abandoned in the war of 1812, but was occupied by Pilcher in 1822 or 1823 as Fort Vanderburgh. This would be about twenty miles above where Fort Clarke was permanently established. Kipp is said to have come to the site of Fort Clarke in 1822 "when there was no post." Major Pilcher is said to have been a proprietor of the Missouri Fur Company in 1822 and to have directed a post to be built "a little above the Minnitaree villages" on the south side of the Missouri, which was abandoned in 1823.* And Kipp is said to have begun in 1822 "a fort on the prairie which lay between the future Fort Clark and 'the forest in which the inhabitants of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Cush live in the winter,'" which was completed that year. And this winter location of the Mandans is stated to have been "about a league below Fort Clarke," referring to the permanent establishment. Chittenden elsewhere says that Kipp "was in a sense the founder of Fort Clark in that he established a post in that vicinity from which Fort Clark evolved in the course of a few years." (See Coues' Larpenteur's "Forty Years a Fur Trader on the Upper Missouri," vol. 1, pp. 142-3; Chittenden's "American Fur Trade of the Far West," vol. 1, pp. 389-90, vol. 3, p. 957; Lewis and Clarke's Travels, vol. 1, p. 176, London edition of 1815; Maximilian's Travels, pp. 318-19, 323, 394. The reference to Maximilian is from the note to Larpenteur, p. 142. Brackenridge's "Journal of a Voyage Up the Missouri River," Balto. 1816, pp. 179, 180, 185, 203, 246. Brackenridge's "Views of Louisiana," Balto. 1817, p. 175.)

[7]**Location of Gros Ventres**—It should be noted that Major Wilson, all

*Brackenridge, who went up the Missouri River with Lisa in 1811 as far as "the Mandan villages," says that on July 26 after passing "all five of the Mandan villages," they reached "the fort of the Missouri Company, which is situated above all the villages, and sixteen hundred and forty miles from the mouth of the Missouri, and in latitude 47° 13′ N." That the fort stood about 200 yards from the bank of the river, and was "a small triangular inclosure, with bastions." He does not state on which side of the river it stood. That the nearest of the villages below was "about six miles off." That Lisa established trading establishments "at the Mandans, Arikaras, and with the Sioux." In his edition of 1816, page 246, Brackenridge gives a table of distances, and of locations on either bank of the Missouri, of various leading landmarks, where it appears that the "Mandan Village" is 1600 miles, and the "Company's Fort" 1640 miles above the mouth of the Missouri; the village is designated as on the "S. W." side of the river, there being no indication as to which side of the river the fort is located; and one of the two "Old Mandan" villages is placed 40, the other 80 miles below the "Mandan Village," all appearing to be on the "S. W." side of the river.

through this article, seems to refer to the "right bank" or "left bank" of the Missouri, as the case may be, as those banks would appear in proceeding up the river, instead of designating the banks as they are usually indicated as appearing to one who is descending the stream. If he here means the east bank, then it is not at all clear as to just where the "village of the Gros Venter" was at which Lisa is supposed to have erected an establishment.

Lewis and Clarke on their up-river expedition refer to "Grosventres, or Bigbellies" as names given the Minnetarees; state that one of their villages was on the south side of the Knife River half a mile above the Mahaha Mandan village (which latter is stated to be "at the mouth of Knife River") and "surnamed Metaharta"; that on "the opposite side of Knife River, and one and a half mile above this village, is a second of Minnetarees, who may be considered as the proper Minnetaree nation." On the return trip nearly two years later and in August, 1806, they "approached the grand village of the Minnetarees," and "soon after landed at the bank near the village of the Mahahas," and that "after remaining there a few minutes, we crossed to the Mandan village of the Blackcat." This Mandan village was the chief establishment of the Mandans at that time; and it therefore seems that the Gros Ventre villages were, in 1806, on the west side of the river substantially at the mouth of the Knife River. Chittenden says their home was "on the right bank of the Missouri near the mouth of Knife River"; that there were "two or three posts in their neighborhood at one time and another, but they were later all merged in the large post of Fort Clark, which accommodated both their own trade and that of the Mandans." He adds that parties had been left by the expedition to establish posts at the Mandans and Minetarees.

[8]**Fort at the Three Forks**—This post was erected on the neck of land between the Jefferson and Madison rivers about two miles above their junction, early in the spring of 1810, by the St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company. It was a large post, and according to an account given by Lieutenant James H. Bradley, who visited the site in 1870, and who then traced its general outlines, "it was a double stockade of logs set three feet deep, enclosing an area of about three hundred feet square, situated upon the tongue of land (at that point only half a mile wide) between the Jefferson and Madison rivers, about two miles from their confluence, upon the south bank of the channel of the former stream, called Jefferson slough." It was attacked by the Blackfeet April 12, 1810, and owing to repeated attacks by them was abandoned in the fall. The only known existing relic of this post is a letter written on the spot under the heading of "The Three Forks of the Missouri," April 21, 1810, by Pierre Menard to Pierre Chouteau, of St. Louis, in the French language, published by Chittenden with an English translation. Brackenridge says that the Missouri Fur Company party were there "so much harassed by the savages, as to be compelled to remain altogether at their fort, or to venture but a short distance from it." That at least twenty whites were killed and twice that number of Indians; that the hostilities were caused by the killing of two or three Blackfeet by Lewis and Clarke on their return.

Local tradition connected this post with the Lewis and Clarke expedition, the erroneous belief existing that they had wintered there; and it was known locally as "Lewis and Clarke's Fort."

[9]**Posts at the Platte**—Many trading establishments and several military posts have been built at this point. The trading establishments were a little above the mouth of the Platte, but their commercial importance arose from their proximity to the junction of the two rivers. (Chittenden, vol. 2, p. 768.)

[10]**Fort Osage,** sometimes called Fort Clark, stood near the site of Sibley, Missouri, about forty miles below the mouth of the Kansas River, and was founded in 1808 by General William Clark. It was occupied, but not continuously, until 1827, and was permanently abandoned on the founding of Fort Leavenworth. Here was located the only government trading factory for the Indian trade west of the Mississippi. (Chittenden, vol. 2, p. 628, vol. 3, p. 948.)

[11]See note 4.

[12]**Manuel Lisa** was born in New Orleans of Spanish parents September 8, 1772. He was the son of Christopher Lisa, who came to America in the service of his government at or about the time of the Spanish occupation of Louisiana. The early life of Manuel is shrouded in some obscurity, but that his father spent the balance of his life in this country, and that Manuel came to St. Louis early in life and at or prior to 1790, is known. In the fur trade, the business of his life, he had become well established at the beginning of the nineteenth century, as he secured from the Spanish government about the year 1800 the exclusive trade with the Osage Indians on the Osage River, thus displacing Major John Pierre Chouteau, who was said to have monopolized that trade for more than twenty years. His connection with the upper Missouri fur trade dates from the year 1807, when he, accompanied by George Drouillard, who had accompanied Lewis and Clarke, and by Coulter, another member of that expedition, who had been met at the mouth of the Platte and had turned back to accompany Lisa, ascended that stream and built his post (see note on Fort Lisa) at the mouth of the Big Horn, returning in 1808, when he was chiefly instrumental in organizing the St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company in the winter of 1808-9. Ascending the river again in 1809 and to his post on the Big Horn, he transferred that property to the new company, returning to St. Louis in 1809. In 1809-10 he was on his way to Montreal in connection with his business when he was stopped at Detroit by the embargo, and returned to St. Louis. In the spring of 1810 he again ascended the Missouri, returning in the fall to St. Louis, where he wintered. In April, 1811, he went up the river in quest of Major Andrew Henry, and to bring down the returns of the preceding winter's fur trade, as well as to ascertain the condition of the company's property, this being the last year of its business as planned by the partners. Upon this voyage Lisa accomplished the memorable trip in which he overtook the Hunt-Astoria expedition at the Big Bend, the two expeditions remaining substantially in company for the general purpose of defense

against the hostile Sioux, whose attitude at that time along the Missouri River in what is now South Dakota and further up-stream, was justly regarded by the whites as being extremely dangerous. In every other sense, however, the two parties were intensely opposed to each other, or rather, part of Hunt's company and the Lisa party were "at swords' points" with each other during the passage up the river from the bend until they neared the Aricara villages beyond the Cheyenne, an open rupture having been several times prevented by the diplomacy and bravery of individuals in either party, including Brackenridge. Lisa feared that the previous arrival of the Hunt party at the Indian villages would, in view of the presence of Crooks and McClellan, his sworn enemies, who were with that expedition, prove disastrous to his previous work in establishing a trade at that point. These incidents are mentioned, as they are of more than usual local importance in connection with what occurred at the mouth of the Teton River, while those parties were proceeding northward, and narrated further on in this note. Lisa proceeded up-river from the Aricara villages to the Mandan posts, returning thence to the post at the Aricaras, and remained there until Henry came down the river; leaving for St. Louis, where he arrived in October. In the winter of 1811-12 the St. Louis, Missouri, Fur Company was reorganized, Lisa becoming more prominent in the concern than before. He ascended the river with two barges in 1812, remaining at the Mandan post until the next spring, and returning to St. Louis with the winter's trade returns June 1, 1813. Now began the struggle to maintain amicable relations with the Indians on the upper Missouri and Mississippi, in view of the war of 1812 and the changed conditions which British inroads from the north, actively going on among the agents and Indian traders who adhered to the enemy, were bringing about. Lisa was assigned to this task, having been appointed sub-agent for all the Missouri tribes above the Kansas, and in August he left St. Louis for his trading post previously established about five miles above the Council Bluffs on the west side of the river, and which post is known in history as the principal Lisa post, or Fort Lisa. There he remained until the spring of 1815, and while there he made a complete success of the problem of controlling the Indians. Chittenden says of him in this connection: "He not only organized war expeditions against some of the tribes on the Mississippi who were allies of the British, but he secured pledges of friendship from nearly all the Missouri tribes, and went down to St. Louis in the spring of 1815 with forty-three chiefs and head men authorized to make treaties of friendship and alliance with the United States. It was mainly through his efforts that the upper Missouri tribes were prevented from going over to the British, and the government of the United States duly recognized the fact." After the war of 1812 the precise whereabouts of Lisa for a year or two are not clearly known but he wintered each year at Fort Lisa. In 1817 he resigned his commission as sub-agent in a letter to General Clark ("Chittenden," Appendix B), which for vigor of statement and comprehension of the subject of the Indian situation during the war of 1812

is a monument to the intelligence and masterly spirit of its writer, while it reveals in sententious phrase the great work done by him for his country. He continued in the fur trade, wintering at Fort Lisa and going to St. Louis a short time each summer. With subsequent changes in the personnel of the Missouri Fur Company Lisa's influence grew stronger, until he became its president. He was also a sort of general agent or manager of the firm of Cabanne and Company on the Missouri until his agency was ended in 1819, "because he had come down the river earlier than he was authorized to by the terms of his contract. But he doubtless came down from necessity of defending his interests against his ubiquitous enemies," says Chittenden. In 1819 the famous Yellowstone expedition ascended the river and made its winter encampment for 1819-20 near Fort Lisa. Lisa rendered valuable services to that expedition and cultivated the good will of its members. He returned to St. Louis in April, 1820, in good health. In August of that year he was seized with some disease of a serious nature, and died on the 12th of that month at the Sulphur Springs in the southwest suburbs of St. Louis. He was beyond question the most prodigiously active, swiftly resourceful and unerringly successful man who ever entered the Indian country in the far west and grappled with manifold difficulties on short notice, in trade negotiation and Indian diplomacy. His superb management of a boat in struggling up the swift Missouri was the mirror of his genius in other ways. He had enemies abundant. His expedient of "raising the song" when his men were weary and discouraged immortalized him among the voyageurs of his day. It is said that he must have traveled not less than twenty-six thousand miles on the upper Missouri and tributary streams during the last thirteen years of his life.

When Hunt's party was camping at the mouth of the Teton in 1811, Lisa's party, who had left the river below what is now the city of Pierre and proceeded up river by land to the bluffs at the Pierre boat-landing, halted there and crossed over to where Hunt was stopping. As Brackenridge, who was with Lisa, has recorded the first pen-picture of the river substantially at Old Fort Pierre, we will quote from his "Journal of a Voyage up the Missouri River" the following:

"Wednesday, 5th" (June). "This morning after proceeding a short distance we were compelled, by rain, to put to shore, where we continued until towards evening, and seeing no probability that the weather would clear up, crossed over to the S. W. side, where Hunt and his party were encamped. On the side we had left, the hills approach close to the river, and bare of vegetation; the earth a stiff clay, which, being now moistened by the rain, is exceedingly slippery. On the other side there is a handsome plain, with a row of trees along the margin of the river, and a handsome wood along the borders of a little rivulet which flows across the plain. The upland rises at the distance of a quarter of a mile, to the height of sixty or seventy feet, in a number of projecting points, or hills. On ascending this ground we found ourselves on an extended plain, upon which at the distance of a few miles the hills rose in strange, irregular, broken masses. Mr. Bradbury and I took a stroll from

the camp, in quest of specimens and adventures. Before reaching the upland we observed on the river bottom a large encampment of Sioux, where they had probably remained during the winter, from the traces of tents, the quantity of bones, and the appearance of the ground. Their position was well chosen; the wood of the Missouri, and that of the streamlet I have just mentioned, at right angles with it, formed two sides of the camp, on the other side there is an open plain. In this place it would have been difficult to have attacked them by surprise." Further on and after mentioning the herbage, among which were "many beautiful small flowers, but no weeds," he adds: "Wide and beaten roads formed by the passing of the buffalo, may everywhere be seen." These roads of the "King of the Prairie" were the harbingers of the great commercial highways of frontier days which, adapting the trails of the aborigines, were beaten by civilization and which converged upon this plain so graphically described by Brackenridge and which was the site of old Fort Pierre and the train of posts preceding and following her; and the very site of the Sioux camp at the angle of the Missouri and the Teton, by him mentioned, was the scene of the pioneer white man's trading post built six years later (1817) by Joseph LaFromboise.

Brackenridge then relates that on returning to Hunt's camp it transpired that his (Hunt's) interpreter had surreptitiously quit his service, and that Lisa had reminded him (the interpreter) of the impropriety of his conduct, but that he (Lisa) had probably made some offers to said interpreter to draw him from his present service, which offers had probably been retailed by him to his master (Hunt); that while Lisa was in Hunt's camp that evening he was grossly insulted by the interpreter, "who struck him several times, and seized a pair of pistols belonging to Mr. Hunt; that gentleman did not seem to interest himself much in the affair, being actuated by feelings of resentment, at the attempt to inveigle his man. On my return to our camp, I found Mr. Lisa furious with rage, buckling on his knife, and preparing to return: finding that I could not dissuade, I resolved to accompany him. It was with the greatest difficulty I succeeded in preventing the most serious consequences. I had several times to stand between him and the interpreter, who had a pistol in each hand. I am sorry to say, that there was but little disposition on the part of Mr. Hunt to prevent the mischief that might have arisen. I must, in justice to him, declare, however, that it was through him that Mr. M'Clelland was induced not to put his threat" (That if ever he fell in with Lisa, in the Indian country, he would shoot him) "into execution, having pledged his honor to that effect. I finally succeeded in bringing Lisa off to his boat. When it is recollected that this was at a distance of a thousand miles from all civil authority, or power, it will be seen that there was but little to restrain the effects of animosity. Having obtained, in some measure, the confidence of Mr. Hunt, and the gentlemen who were with him, and Mr. Bradbury that of Mr. Lisa, we mutually agreed to use all the arts of mediation in our power, and, if possible, prevent anything serious."

The following is Washington Irving's account of this altercation:

"On the third day, however, an explosion took place, and it was produced by no less a personage than Pierre Dorion, the half breed interpreter. This worthy had been obliged to steal a march from St. Louis to avoid being arrested for an old whiskey debt which he owed to the Missouri Fur Company and by which Mr. Lisa had hoped to prevent his enlistment in Mr. Hunt's expedition. Dorion, since the arrival of Lisa, had kept aloof and regarded him with a sullen and dogged aspect.

"On the fifth day of July the two parties were brought to a halt, by a heavy rain, and remained in camp about one hundred yards apart. In the course of the day, Lisa undertook to tamper with the faith of Pierre Dorion, and inviting him on board of his boat, regaled him with his favorite whiskey. When he thought him sufficiently mellowed he proposed to him to quit the service of his new employers and return to his old allegiance. Finding him not to be moved by soft words, he called to mind his old debt to the company, and threatened to carry him off by force in payment of it. The mention of his debt always stirred up the gall of Pierre Dorion, bringing with it remembrances of the whiskey extortion. A violent quarrel arose between him and Lisa, and he left the boat in high dudgeon. His first step was to repair to the tent of Mr. Hunt and reveal the attempt that had been made to shake his faith. While he was yet talking, Lisa entered the tent, under the pretext that he had come to borrow a towing line. High words instantly ensued between him and Dorion, which ended in the half breed's dealing him a blow. A quarrel in the Indian country, however, is not to be settled with fisticuffs. Lisa immediately rushed to his boat for a weapon. Dorion snatched up a pair of pistols belonging to Mr. Hunt and placed himself in battle array. The noise had roused the camp, and every one pressed to know the cause. Lisa now reappeared on the field with a knife stuck in his girdle. Mr. Brackenridge, who had tried in vain to mollify his ire, accompanied him to the scene of action. Pierre Dorion's pistols gave him the advantage, and he maintained a most warlike attitude. In the meantime Crooks and M'Lellan had heard of the affray and were each eager to take the quarrel into their own hands. A scene of uproar and hubbub ensued which defies description. M'Lellan would have brought his rifle into play and settled all old, and new, grudges together had he not been restrained by Mr. Hunt. That gentleman acted as moderator, endeavoring to prevent a general melee; in the midst of the brawl, however, an expression was made use of by Lisa derogatory to his own honor. In an instant the tranquil spirit of Mr. Hunt was in a flame. He now became as eager for a fight as anyone on the ground, and challenged Lisa to settle the dispute on the spot with pistols. Lisa repaired to his boat to arm himself for the deadly feud. He was followed by Messrs. Bradbury and Brackenridge, who were novices in Indian life, and the chivalry of the frontier, and had no relish for scenes of blood and brawl. By their earnest mediation the quarrel was with great difficulty brought to a close without bloodshed; but the two leaders of rival camps separated in anger, and all personal intercourse ceased between them."

[15]**American Island and Forts Thereon**—This island is substantially

opposite the city of Chamberlain, S. D. The site of the "Fort aux Cedars" was probably at the lower end of the island and perhaps nearly a mile below Chamberlain. This post and that of Fort Recovery have become somewhat confused in the accounts of this old trading point. Nicollet refers to "Old Ft. aux Cedars" as being directly opposite this island on the west side of the Missouri River. He saw the place in 1839. Maximilian speaks of the site of a former post having been seen by his party May 25, 1833, soon after passing above the mouth of White River, and as a place where "a trading post of the Missouri Fur Company had formerly been. When the Company was dissolved, this and other settlements were abandoned," etc. Fort Recovery was established at the lower end of Cedar (known also as American) island in 1822 by the Missouri Fur Company, after Lisa's death and upon Pilcher's succeeding him. The company then included Joshua Pilcher, Charles Bent, Fontenelle and Drips. It was also called Cedar Fort, and this may have been its first name. Chittenden says this may have been the site of "the old Missouri Fur Company post which burned in 1810 and the fact of its re-establishment may have given it its name"; that Leavenworth in 1823 refers to it as a post "called by the Indian traders Fort Recovery and sometimes Cedar Fort."

[14]**Fort Lookout** was established about 1822. It stood about twelve miles above the site of Chamberlain, S. D., on the west side of the Missouri River, opposite to the site of an old Aricara village. It was a post of the French Fur Company. Maximilian thus speaks of it as it appeared in 1833: "Sioux Agency, or, as it is now usually called, Fort Lookout, is a square, of about 60 paces, surrounded by pickets. * * * Close to the fort, in a northerly direction, the Fur Company of Mr. Sublette had a dwelling house, with a store; and, in the opposite direction, was a similar post of the American Fur Company." Chittenden states that it was a post of the Columbia Fur Company and as having been built "as early as 1822." "The American Fur Company's post at this place was Fort Kiowa, built about 1822, or immediately after the Western Department" [of the American Fur Company] "went to St. Louis. The sites were so close together that early references confused the two" [Forts Lookout and Kiowa] "more or less. They were situated on the right bank of the Missouri some ten miles above where Chamberlain, South Dakota, now stands. The Journal of the Yellowstone expedition of 1825 says of the American Fur Company post: "Fort Kiowa consists of a range of log buildings containing four rooms, a log house and a storehouse forming a right angle, leaving a space of some thirty feet. At the south corner of the work is erected a blockhouse near which stands a smith's shop. At the north corner is erected a small wooden tower. The whole work is enclosed by cottonwood pickets. The sides or curtains of the work are 140 feet each." Maximilian further says of Fort Lookout that "it is a square of about sixty paces surrounded by pickets twenty or thirty feet high made of square trunks of trees placed close together." This estimate of height is doubtless exaggerated. The buildings consisted of three blockhouses. At Fort Lookout was concluded the treaty of June 22, 1825,

with the Tetons, Yanktons and Yanktonias, through General Atkinson and Major O'Fallon, and it was said to be "a position occupied by the American Fur Company, twenty miles below the Grand Bend on the right bank of the river." Some of General Harney's troops were stationed there in 1856-7, and the post was abandoned by them June 17, 1857, they proceeding to Fort Randall. Dr. Coues (editor of Larpenteur's Journal) says the post is at about the 1081-mile point above St. Louis. A portion of its material was used in 1857 in building Fort Randall.

[15]**Fort George** was located on the west side of the Missouri River, about nineteen and a half miles below Fort Pierre or the mouth of Teton or Bad River, and two and a half miles below a point opposite to the mouth of the Little Medicine or Medicine Knoll Creek, and is about one-eighth of a mile above the mouth of the Fort George Creek. The writer of this note, who visited the locality September 2, 1901, paced the distance from the southeast corner of the old stockade of the post to the bluff of said creek, and found the distance to be approximately 675 feet. At the present time the Missouri River bluff bank is within from twenty-five to fifty feet of the north line of the post. The stockade enclosure is 175 feet east and west by 160 feet north and south, and the north and south side lines extend a little south of due east. There is no question that this post was originally stockaded—the evidences of the stockade ditches are yet plainly visible; and the outlines of the two bastions, one at the southwest corner, the other at the northeast corner, are also still visible. In the exact center of the inclosure stands the stake marking the northeast corner of the Lower Brule reservation. A wire fence along the east and west section line of the government survey extends across the inclosure, crossing the west end at a point 93 feet south of the northwest corner, and crossing the east end 51 feet from the northeast corner. The post was built by a company in opposition to the American Fur Company—the opposition company being composed of one Ebbetts, one Cutting, William Kelsey, and the firm of Fox, Livingston and Co. of New York City, and was variously known as Fox, Livingston & Co., the Union Fur Company, and Ebbetts & Cutting. This was their principal establishment in the upper Missouri fur trade, and was probably built in 1842, as Ebbetts, the pioneer who preceded its establishment, traded in that locality in 1841 with profit, and encouraged the other partners to take an interest soon after. Kelsey was first in charge of the post. Kelsey, in maintaining the business at that point, and who had with him several desperate adventurers who lived on Simeneau's Island (now known as Fort George Island or Airhart's Island) at that point, shot two men dead and wounded two others of his men who refused to give up certain habitations claimed by the company situated on the island; then, fearing the consequences of his acts, he suddenly left the country for Mexico, never to return. The Union Fur Company continued the business there until 1845, when they sold out to the American Fur Company, the post itself, however, not having been purchased by the successors. Fox, Livingston & Co. seem to have constituted the most determined opposition to the American Fur Company, of any rival establishment in

that part of the country, for several years. Larpenteur says that Kelsey left Cutting in charge when he (Kelsey) left, but he calls him "Cotton"; and Cutting was in possession in 1843 when Audubon, the naturalist, made his trip up the Missouri in that year. At that time, however, Major Hamilton seems to have been in charge of an Indian agency at that point, as Audubon mentions him as "now acting Indian agent here until the return of Major Crisp (Drips?)." He adds that Hamilton "pointed out to us the cabin on the opposite shore, where a partner of the "opposition line" shot at and killed two white men and wounded two others, all of whom were remarkable miscreants." Again, Audubon, May 28, 1843, says: "Squires and I walked to Fort George, and soon met a young Englishman. * * * His name was Illingsworth; he is the present manager of the establishment." It is evident that the American Fur Company established a rival trading post there immediately after Fort George was built; as one Bouis was sent down there from Fort Pierre with a stock of goods, but his lodge was raided by the desperate men under Kelsey and cut to pieces; after which he was relieved by Major Hamilton.

Louis DeWitt, a prominent mixed-blood living about three-quarters of a mile up Fort George Creek, and an old resident there, has interviewed several Indians who are said to have personal knowledge of the old post. He stated to the writer of this note, November 12, 1901, that the oldest daughter of the noted chief Strikes-the-Ree, living at Lower Brule agency, informed him about that time that she was then seventy-eight years old, that she was fourteen years old when Fort George was built (this would fix the date of its erection in 1837—evidently an error); that the post was stockaded to her personal knowledge. He also reports Swift Hawk, an Indian living about a mile below him, and who was then sixty-seven years old, as stating that there was a stockade at Fort George as far back as he could remember; that there were two blockhouses opposite to each other and that they had port holes in them. That he and Four Bears, chief of the Two Kettles, lived there in the stockade after the post was abandoned; that when abandoned the post was given to Four Bears. That the Fort Pierre people took the most of it, from the inside, "what was good," at that time, but that the main part of it, including the stockade, was left there. That Americans, as they were called, lived there, while the French lived at Fort Pierre. Joseph Wandel, a Frenchman and squaw man living up Bad River, and who came up the river in 1853 in connection with the American Fur Company's business, stated to the writer of this note, October 14, 1901, that Fort George was there when he came up the river; that it was taken away in 1854 (probably an error of one year), the American Fur Company having sent teams down there to haul parts of it up to Fort Pierre; that they put the logs from it into Fort Pierre; that there was nothing left of it then except a chimney made of hay and clay and that Primeau's step-son, Charles Brasseau, was in charge there just before it was abandoned and taken away. But it is certain that the post was occupied by some of Harney's Infantry in 1855, as Captain H. W. Wessells, Second Infantry,

reports from that post July 31, 1855: "This post having been purchased by the Quartermaster's Department was temporarily occupied on the 15th July by Co. 'G' 2nd Infantry for the purpose of removing the buildings when no longer required for the public service and to store such public property as might be discharged from overloaded boats on their way to Fort Pierre." And the commanding officer then at Fort Pierre, reporting his arrival there July 31, 1855, remarks that, owing to low water, public stores had been left at various points below, and guards left to take charge of them; that on the 15th inst. Major Wessells, with his Company, was temporarily detached to Fort George to receive any public stores the transports might be compelled to discharge, at that point, and if the buildings there should not be required for that purpose to take them down preparatory to their material being transported to this post, for the construction of public storehouses, &c, here." There seem to be no government records, however, regarding such purchase, in existence. The point concerning the existence of a stockade is brought out, as the late Charles P. Chouteau of the American Fur Company, speaking from memory in 1897, states in a letter to Colonel J. C. Gilmore, assistant adjutant general, Washington, D. C., that this post was "an insignificant affair, consisting of a few huts and not stockaded nor fortified at all." He also states that the establishment was "a sort of opposition establishment to Fort Pierre," and that "three traders named Premen (Primeau), Harvey & Boise" set up the business there, which "was soon absorbed by the Chouteau Co."

[16]**Fort Tecumseh** was built, as nearly as can be ascertained, in 1822, and was the principal trading establishment of the Columbia Fur Company (see note 17). Its precise location relatively to its successor, old Fort Pierre, or to the mouth of the Teton, can only be stated approximately. It stood in all probability a trifle over a mile down the Missouri River from where Fort Pierre was built, and this would fix its site at nearly two miles above the mouth of the Teton. It certainly stood farther east than Fort Pierre, for the occasion of commencing the erection of Fort Pierre was the dangerous proximity of Fort Tecumseh to the river bank, it being so near the water that it was feared by the members of the American Fur Company (who purchased it from the Columbia Fur Company, as will be seen), that it would soon be undermined by the inroads of the river; while by all the authorities it is clear that Fort Pierre was placed some distance back from the river bank. It was the pioneer trading post substantially at the mouth of the Teton, among all of those built by the fur traders of the Missouri River era who ranked with the large operators, and was named for the celebrated Indian chief Tecumseh. Basil Clement (pronounced Klemo, and by Americans Claymore) who came up to Fort Pierre from St. Louis in 1840, states that Fort Tecumseh was built by DesLauriers. It stood on the right or west bank of the Missouri, as did Fort Pierre; but it will be noted that Major Wilson, in his article to which this note is appended states further on that for various reasons mentioned the site of Fort Tecumseh was not convenient for the Indian trade, the width of the river, high winds, etc., making it

difficult to communicate with "the other bank"; that McKenzie (in charge of Fort Tecumseh) desired to change the location of the trading post, and that "experience had determined that the left bank of the Missouri was the preferable one for Indian trading;" and he also speaks in the first instance concerning this post, of its erection "on the right bank, opposite the mouth of the Teton," and that its location was "very near the site of the present city of Pierre, South Dakota." From all of which—and remembering that Major Wilson refers to the river bank as it is at one's right or left in ascending the river, it is clear that he believed Fort Tecumseh to have been originally built on the east side of the Missouri. No other evidence than that of Major Wilson's dictum has so far been adduced, however, to sustain this theory. The writer of this note, in an endeavor to secure corroboration of Major Wilson, has searched every available avenue of information for further light upon the subject, but is unable to secure any proof of the claim that this particular post ever stood on the east side of the river; while there is a tradition that the original trading post in that vicinity stood on the high ground northeast of the city park and some distance east of what is now the Catholic Hospital (formerly the Park Hotel) in the city of Pierre. Upon communicating with Major Wilson, and requesting information from him as to the sources of his supposed evidence going to sustain his belief in the premises, it transpired that the chief element upon which his supposition was based was "an extract from the report of General Atkinson and Major O'Fallon, dated St. Louis, November 7, 1825, reporting their journey up the Missouri, in which they state that they made a treaty with the Ogalallas and Cheyennes, at the mouth of the Teton River above Fort Lookout 'where there is an establishment of the American Fur Company on the right bank of the river.'" And Major Wilson in his said response adds: "As the Teton comes into the Missouri from the west, there is, of course, ground for question as to whether the words 'on the right bank of the river' is meant to mean on the right bank of the Teton or on the right bank of the Missouri. I have always understood it to mean on the right bank of the Missouri, and I am very positive that I satisfied myself on that point before making the statement." It seems very plain that the whole difficulty with Major Wilson's theory on this head is that he concludes from the statement of Atkinson and O'Fallon quoted by him, that those officers in their said report meant by "the right bank of the river" the east, not the west bank; and when their further language, namely, "at the mouth of the Teton," is considered in connection with the balance of their description of the location, it would seem to put the point beyond controversy, to the effect that they meant the west bank, and that the post then stood on the west side of the Missouri.

There can be no reasonable doubt that Fort Tecumseh was a stockaded post, as stated by Major Wilson; but as to its size, or to what extent the inclosed area was occupied by buildings, is a matter of conjecture. It was delivered to the American Fur Company by the Columbia Fur Company December 5, 1827, "with an inventory of property amounting to $14,453." William Laidlaw, who had been in the employ of the prede-

cessor concern, was in charge for the five years or thereabouts during which it was occupied thereafter and prior to the occupation of Fort Pierre. Laidlaw and Halsey moved out of it into Fort Pierre April 15, 1832, but Fort Pierre was not permanently occupied until June 17th or later. Doubtless some of its material went into Fort Pierre.

In connection with the abandonment of Fort Tecumseh, it may be proper to add that Claymore states that the American Fur Company, before erecting Fort Pierre, "built or tried to build a post on the north side of the Little Bend, right above Amedee Rosseau's about one-fourth of a mile. I saw the old rotten logs there myself. It was called McKenzie Bottom. Mike McKenzie built it, just a shack, etc., and went away within a year. He was driven away by the Rees. Then below the mouth of the Cheyenne near Fort Bennett McKenzie tried to build there, and the Rees drove them away. The Brule Sioux came up there and said to him, 'the Rees will not let you build here, you build near old Fort Teton, just above, and we will protect you.' Then they built Fort Pierre." Claymore was employed by the American Fur Company from the time of his arrival there until after old Fort Pierre was sold to the government. But what he relates concerning the efforts to build a post near the mouth of the Cheyenne is based upon the statements of others, except as to what he saw as ruins of the incipient "shacks," etc.

[17]**The American Fur Company** was chartered by the state of New York to John Jacob Astor, April 6, 1808, such corporate body being simply a "fiction intended to broaden and facilitate his operations" in carrying out his comprehensive schemes of monopolizing the fur trade of the west and, incidentally, the ocean trade between New York and the Pacific coast and China. The companies under whose immediate operation his vast schemes were carried on—all being simply departments of the American Fur Company, were substantially as follows: Astor, finding it necessary or prudent to buy out the Mackinaw Company (headquartered at Michilimackinac between Lakes Huron and Michigan) took into partnership certain part owners of the Northwest Company (itself a formidable rival of the Hudson Bay Company and established at Montreal, and having its principal base of supplies at the Grand Portage northwest of Lake Superior); and this successor to the Mackinaw Company was known as the Southwest Company, as opposed to the British Company, which did business in the country to the north and west. Astor owned a two-thirds interest in the Southwest Company, the other partners (including also the Mackinaw traders Cameron, Fraser, Dickson and Rolette) agreeing that their interest should fall to Astor at the end of five years. June 23, 1810, Astor organized the Pacific Fur Company, contemplating a central establishment near the mouth of the Columbia River, supplies to be furnished from New York by ship, "which would receive the returns of the trade, dispose of the furs in China, and return home with goods for the home market," the coast trade to be carried on in conjunction, including supplies to the Russian settlements on the northwest coast. The war of 1812 practically crippled the successful operation of these organizations for several years. In 1816, congress having (largely through Astor's

efforts) passed an act excluding foreigners from participating in the fur trade of the United States, the Northwest Company relinquished their interest on American territory, the American Fur Company succeeding to their interests, as well as to those of the Southwest Company, in 1816. Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stuart became the general agents of the company, while Russell Farnham became chief representative on the Mississippi. A fierce quarrel between the St. Louis traders and Farnham as promoter of the American Fur Company's interests in the Illinois country arose over the question whether the company could, under the act of 1816, engage foreigners in the service of American traders—a practice carried on by Astor, who had employed Canadians. Litigation arose over the forcible seizure of two boats of the company by the military acting upon the theory of exclusive right of the governors of Missouri and Illinois territories to license the business on the Mississippi, resulting in favor of the American Fur Company in 1823, and the war department at last recognized the validity of the licenses of the Mackinaw traders. Astor, conservative about entering into the Missouri River trade for the reason, chiefly, that he was furnishing goods to the St. Louis traders, and not having succeeded in coming to terms with Berthold, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis, who desired to purchase an interest in the American Fur Company, laid plans in 1821 to enter into that field of operations. The British parliament having, on July 2, 1821, passed an act virtually excluding Americans from the Canadian trade, the American Fur Company withdrew its outposts from the country east of Lake Huron, but immediately established posts along the Canadian frontier from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods as a counter move. Astor was also instrumental in securing the abolition by congress of the United States factories for the Indian trade, thus removing government competition. In April, 1822, Samuel Abbott was sent by the company to St. Louis to represent its interests there, and the company thus created its western department, giving to the older and northern field of its operations the name of the northern department. Robert Stuart remained at Michilimackinac. April 1, 1823, the firm of Stone, Bostwick & Co. (otherwise known as David Stone & Co.), a formidable rival trading concern in the St. Louis trade, was admitted into the American Fur Company, to continue three and one-half years, Bostwick and Abbott to be in charge at St. Louis; at the end of which period, in 1827, the western department was placed in charge of Bernard Pratte & Co., a firm composed of Pratte, Pierre Chouteau, Jr., John P. Cabanne and B. Berthold, an old and prominent St. Louis trading house, which arrangement was to continue for four years. A powerful rival had now appeared in the northern territory, namely the Columbia Fur Company, founded by Joseph Renville, who associated with him Kenneth McKenzie and William Laidlaw (who later was in charge of old Fort Pierre), who had been employed by the British traders prior to the amalgamation in 1821 of the Northwest and Hudson Bay companies, McKenzie soon becoming president of the Columbia Fur Company; the legal title of the concern being Tilton & Co. Its most important post was Fort Tecumseh, just above the mouth

of the Teton, or, as then called, Little Missouri River (now Bad River), on the west side of the Missouri River a short distance below old Fort Pierre. The American Fur Company and the Columbia Fur Company were in close and active competition through the Sioux and Omaha country at that time, both being outfitted in St. Louis. A union was formed between the two companies about July, 1827, the Columbia Fur Company withdrawing from the Great Lakes region and the upper Mississippi, which thus reverted to the northern department of the American Fur Company devoid of opposition. A sub-department was created on the Missouri embracing all the valley above the mouth of the Big Sioux (substantially at what is now Sioux City), the Columbia Fur Company taking charge of this department without substantially changing its organization. The partners of the retiring Columbia Fur Company, including McKenzie, Laidlow and Daniel Lamont, became partners of this sub-department "quite as independently as if they had remained a separate company." The name of Columbia Fur Company was dropped, and the new arrangement was carried on for twenty years or more under the business style of "Upper Missouri Outfit," or, as abbreviated, "U. M. O." The new arrangement went into full effect with the beginning of 1828. It is said that thereafter the "company," thus made the most formidable trading concern on the Missouri River, was always understood to mean the American Fur Company, all others being mere "opposition" companies, which supremacy was continued until the company ceased business altogether over thirty years afterward. Kenneth McKenzie, the master spirit in the management of the American Fur Company, was dissuaded for the time being by Pierre Chouteau from a cherished scheme of embarking the company in the fur trade of the Rocky Mountains, where General Ashley had brilliantly succeeded as head of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company; and Fort Floyd (afterwards and permanently known as Fort Union) was established by the American Fur Company in the fall of 1828 at the mouth of the Yellowstone. In 1829 and 1830 Henry Vanderbergh headed a party who traveled into the heart of the Rocky Mountains for the American Fur Company, encountering great hardships and a battle with the Blackfeet, but the expedition was not profitable in building up the fur trade there. The contract between the American Fur Company and Bernard Pratte & Co. for control by the latter of the western department, and between said firm and McKenzie and others as agents of the Upper Missouri Outfit (the former of which expired with the outfit of 1829, the latter with that of 1830) were renewed in March and August, 1830, for four years more. Late in 1831 McKenzie caused Fort Piegan to be built for the company just above the mouth of the Marias River and in the angle between that and the Missouri; this post being burned the next summer. Fort McKenzie was built to succeed it that year, six miles further up and on the north bank of the Marias, which became the permanent seat of the Blackfoot Indian trade. Fort Cass was built on the Yellowstone at the mouth of the Big Horn, for the Crow Indian trade. In 1831 the steamboat Yellowstone made the first trip up the Missouri as far as Fort Tecumseh; the next year she

ascended to Fort Union, the experiment having been made through Mr. Chouteau's confidence in the plan of thus doing away with the keel-boat service in transporting goods up and down the river for the company. After the union with the Columbia Fur Company, the next opposition was that of the French Fur Company, composed of Papin, Chenie, the two Cerres, DeLaurier, Picotte, Dennis Guion and Louis Bonfort and its principal establishment, "just across the Teton River from Fort Tecumseh," was purchased October, 1830, by the American Fur Company. The strongest opposition ever presented against the American Fur Company was that of Sublette & Campbell, a firm composed of William L. Sublette and Robert Campbell, formed in December, 1832. Their principal post was Fort William, built in 1833 about three miles by land below Fort Union. Through the crushing competitive tactics of McKenzie, and the subsequent purchase, in April, 1834, of their remaining goods by the American Fur Company, who agreed to retire from the mountain trade for the ensuing year, that concern was silenced as a competitor on the Missouri. In 1833 the company was in great trouble with the government, owing to McKenzie's experiments with a distillery at Fort Union, where he for a time manufactured spirits for the Indian trade, the government having prohibited the transportation of liquors into the Indian country. This trouble was averted early in 1834 through various pretexts. Mr. Astor, wishing in 1833 to retire from the business, notified Bernard Pratte & Co. that the existing contract with them would expire "with the outfit of the present year on the terms expressed in said agreement"; which step was followed, June 1, 1834, by a sale by him of the northern department, retaining the name of the American Fur Company, to a company of which Ramsey Crooks was principal partner, and of the western department to Pratte, Chouteau & Co. of St. Louis. For many years thereafter the name of American Fur Company was popularly applied to the new company at St. Louis, though improperly. Astor had clearly foreseen the beginning of the decline of the beaver fur trade in the London market in 1833. The remnants of the waning Rocky Mountain Fur Company were, through a connection between Fitzpatrick, Sublette and Bridger (representing those interests) and Fontemelle (of the American Fur Company) merged into the American Fur Company, and Fort John on the Laramie was occupied as the last considerable trade depot of the company. The Rocky Mountain trade of the company was practically terminated in 1843, when James Bridger, who, with Benito Vasquez and Basil Claymore (the latter now living above the mouth of the Cheyenne River on the Missouri) had in 1841-2 trapped for the company in those regions, built Fort Bridger on Black's Fork of the Green River. In 1838 the company management was again changed, the name of Pratte, Chouteau & Co. being succeeded by that of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., & Co., under which name the business was carried on until about the time of the company's permanent retirement from business in 1865, when it sold out to Smith, Hubbell & Hawley of St. Paul, trading as the Northwestern Fur Company. In 1842 new and formidable opposition was met by the company, in the southwest by Lupton and Bent, and St. Vrain, in the upper Platte River

country by Pratt, Cabanne & Co., and on the upper Missouri by Fox, Livingston & Co. at Fort George and Fort Mortimer (at the mouth of the Yellowstone, being the former Fort William), the latter concern being the most formidable, and the contraband liquor trade being the chief instrument in the hands of these rival operators, largely composed of desperate characters; Major Andrew Dripps having been appointed Indian agent by the government, and having by determined effort finally driven those outlaws to the wall, while affording to the American Fur Company every facility for pursuing these rivals. In 1845 Fox, Livingston & Co. (otherwise known as the Union Fur Company) sold out to the American Fur Company. From this time on the fur trade in general declined rapidly. (See Cnittenden, p. 309 et seq.)

The name "American Fur Company," however, seems to have been in use at Michilimackinac long before the Missouri River country became the scene of fur-trading enterprise. But such prior use of the name was entirely disconnected from the promoters of the various concerns which finally resulted in the formation of the company treated of at large in this note.

[18]**North American Fur Company**—It is probable that this refers to what was really the northern department of the American Fur Company, which department was formed in 1822. (See note 17.)

[19]**Rocky Mountain Fur Company**—This statement is misleading as to the origin of that company. Its beginning was in 1822, when General William H. Ashley, its founder, secured a license (as did Major Andrew Henry on the same date) on April 11, 1822, to trade on the upper Missouri; Henry commanding the expedition of that year, a post being established the following winter at the mouth of the Yellowstone; a disastrous expedition thence into the Blackfoot country next year, followed by the second expedition from St. Louis, under General Ashley himself, resulting in the disastrous losses in the Arickara campaign of 1823, being among the early experiences of the company. During several years thereafter and until the summer of 1826, the business was conducted amid perils and adventures which mark that period of exploration into the Rocky Mountains and, in particular, of that region where the sources of the great western rivers of the American continent are found, from Great Salt Lake northward and eastward; beaver trapping being the chief feature. The Hudson Bay Company being the great competitor in front, while agents of the American Fur Company and various minor concerns were following the footsteps of Ashley's men, taking advantage of their pioneering experiences in those new fields of the fur trade and laying foundations for eventually superseding the principal actors. On July 18, 1826, began the second period in the career of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, when Ashley turned over the actual conduct of the business to the firm of Smith, Jackson & Sublette, composed of Jedediah S. Smith, David E. Jackson and William L. Sublette. In the fall of that year Ashley also entered into a contract with Bernard Pratte & Co., under which they were to receive a share of the profits of the next year's business,

this being done to frustrate an attempt of Etienne Provost (the veteran trapper who had first reached the Great Salt Lake region) to form (through an agreement with Bernard Pratte & Co.) a rival expedition to the mountains the next year. Large profits resulted to the parties in interest during that season, Ashley realizing a fortune as the result of several years' business. The concern was now run under the name of Smith, Jackson & Sublette, until the summer of 1830, when for the first time and under a new contract through which the interests of Smith, Jackson & Sublette were sold to Thomas Fitzpatrick, Milton G. Sublette, Henry Fraeb, Jean Baptiste Gervais and James Bridger, the operations were conducted under the style of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company, which contract was dated August 4, 1830, the successors being the men who had rendered the business successful for their vendors, as the latter had done by Ashley. William L. Sublette supplied the company with outfits, and in turn marketed their furs for several years, during which the concern "carried on a wild and roving trade, and its numerous bands of trappers overspread the entire mountain region"; and Vanderburgh, Drips and Fontenelle, partisans of the American Fur Company, were dogging the steps and seeking to foil the purposes of the leading outfits with a view to ultimate dominance of the field in the fur trade of those areas. The New Englander, Nathaniel J. Wyeth and his followers, and Sinclair's free trappers were also participants in the fierce and growing competition. In vain did the company offer to divide the trapping territory with the rival operators; then Fitzpatrick and Bridger lured them into the heart of the Blackfoot country until the Indians attacked them, killing Vanderburgh. Later (in 1833) Captain Bonneville's company came upon the scene, also Robert Campbell. In August of that year Wyeth contracted with the Rocky Mountain Fur Company to deliver merchandise to it the next year. That fall Fitzpatrick, while in the Crow country on Tongue River, was robbed by the Indians of all his possessions. "Fitzpatrick openly charged the American Fur Company with having instigated this outrage; the Indians confessed the fact, and the company's agent admitted it." It is also said that next year (1834) Fitzpatrick (representing the Rocky Mountain Fur Company) was induced by William L. Sublette (representing the American Fur Company) to refuse to carry out the contract made by the former with Wyeth for merchandise, Wyeth being thus left with the goods on his hands and the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was without the sinews of war for the year's campaign; and that William L. Sublette and Robert Campbell "were shrewdly drawing into their own hands the profits of the trade" of that company. Under these discouraging circumstances the Rocky Mountain Fur Company was dissolved in the summer of 1834, Fraeb and Gervais selling out their interest, the remaining partners forming a new firm under the name of Fitzpatrick, Sublette & Bridger. The annual rendezvous on Green River in 1834 ended the career of the Rocky Mountain Fur Company; and Fitzpatrick, Sublette & Bridger continued in business for only a short time, going into the service of the American Fur Company at Fort Laramie the next year (1835). During its twelve years of existence the Rocky

Mountain Fur Company is estimated to have shipped to St. Louis half a million dollars' worth of beaver furs, and to have lost one hundred men by unnatural deaths, while its contributions to geographical knowledge were immense. (See Chittenden, vol. 1, pp. 262-308.)

[20]**Pierre Chouteau, Jr.**, the founder of old Fort Pierre, was born in St. Louis January 19, 1789. He was the second son of Major John Pierre Chouteau, Sr., who was born in New Orleans October 10, 1758, and came to St. Louis in 1764. Chittenden is authority for the statement that Auguste Chouteau was grandfather to the subject of this note; but Billon in his "Annals of St. Louis," does not name Major John Pierre Chouteau as one of the sons of Auguste, nor could this be, for Auguste Chouteau was born September 26, 1750, and came up with Laclede in 1764 and assisted in establishing the post of St. Louis, and John Pierre arrived there the same year in September. The evidence seems to establish the fact that Auguste was uncle to Pierre Chouteau, Jr.

Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was the most illustrious member of the numerous Chouteau family, the family itself having been perhaps the most prominently identified with the growth of St. Louis of any in the southwest, as it certainly was with the development of the fur trade of the west and northwest. From his earliest manhood he proved to be the leading spirit in the founding of the vast system of pioneering involved in establishing outposts for traffic with the Indians in the almost boundless extent of wilderness which the Louisiana Purchase had brought within the scope of American enterprise. In his family he was known as Pierre Cadet Chouteau; was his father's clerk in the fur business at the age of fifteen. He went with Julien Du Buque to the lead mines of Galena on the upper Mississippi in 1806, and in 1809 ascended the Missouri with his father in the service of the Missouri Fur Company. After becoming of age he engaged in business on his own account, and in 1813 he formed a partnership with Bartholomew Berthold, his brother-in-law, which continued until 1831. He made several trips up the Missouri River on the company's steamboat, and was at old Fort Pierre in June, 1832, when the post was named for him. He was a member of the firm of Bernard Pratte & Co., which became the agent of the western department of the American Fur Company, and a leading member of the succeeding firm of Pratte, Chouteau & Co., which purchased that department in 1834. In 1838 the firm was changed to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., under which style the business of the American Fur Company was carried on for over twenty years. Mr. Chouteau in after years and with the growth of his great wealth became interested in other industrial enterprises, such as railroads, bonds, etc., and for many years he resided principally in New York, where he became a leading financier. He possessed in a very high degree the mercantile instinct, and this, combined with his strict adherence to systematic methods and conservative calculating, equipped him for successful action wherever his genius sought exercise. It is said that he accepted conditions as he found them and did not attempt to raise the standard of business morality above its normal level; would reinforce his agents on the upper river in any measure which the

strenuous times in frontier competition usually demanded, but that whoever among his employes attempted to embark in a rival trading business met the crushing force of his powerful company, which was applied without mercy. And if some of the undercurrents which swept across the seas of the Hunt-Astoria expedition were fully revealed the opposing hand of Chouteau would undoubtedly appear. He schemed incessantly to build upon the ruins of Astor's brave and hardy but ill-fated efforts to unite St. Louis with the Pacific by a succession of trading houses. He was very liberal towards all manner of scientific expeditions, large or small, and by virtue of the facilities which he was able to furnish through the river craft owned by the company contributed much to their success. Large accumulations of rare natural and scientific specimens were gathered at his home in St. Louis, the result of these labors of explorers into the far northwest, and many writings of more or less consequence were given him in return for his assistance; the greater part of which materials were unfortunately burned in various conflagrations in St. Louis. However, the long series of years during which the American Fur Company and its immediate predecessors were engaged in the Indian trade and the incidental development of the country brought within the files of the company historical evidences of incalculable value, constituting by far the greatest contribution of the raw material of history of any organization ever formed west of the Alleghenies for business purposes. Though before the era of typewriters, the immense correspondence of the American Fur Company was still not so large but that Mr. Chouteau preserved a copy of every letter, which mass of information is yet preserved in archives at St. Louis; and the present Pierre Chouteau, a grandson of him of whom this note is written, has very magnanimously promised to place at the disposal and use of South Dakota all that portion of such correspondence pertaining more particularly to old Fort Pierre, whenever a suitable fireproof structure shall be erected within which to preserve it.

The only son of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., was Charles P. Chouteau, who was born in St. Louis December 2, 1819, and who died there in January, 1900. The present Pierre Chouteau of St. Louis is a son of Charles P. Chouteau.

Pierre Chouteau, Jr., died in St. Louis October 6, 1865.

[21]**Kenneth McKenzie** had, in 1828, become head manager of the American Fur Company's business on the upper Missouri River, with headquarters at Fort Tecumseh, the business being operated under the name of the Upper Missouri Outfit. See note 17.

[22]See note 16, as to location of this post.

[23]That is, the west bank, in keeping with the author's general reference to the river banks, as they appear in ascending the stream.

[24]**The Sioux or Dakota Indians**—Lewis and Clarke thus record their observations as to numbers and localities of the various Sioux tribes in 1804: "The Sioux, or Dacorta Indians, originally settled on the Mississippi, and called by Carver, Madowesians, are now subdivided into tribes,

as follows: First, the Yanktons; this tribe inhabits the Sioux, Desmoines and Jaques rivers, and number about two hundred warriors. Second, the Tetons of the burnt woods; this tribe numbers about three hundred men, who rove on both sides of the Missouri, the White and Teton rivers. Third, the Tetons Okandandas, a tribe consisting of about one hundred and fifty men, who inhabit both sides of the Missouri below the Cheyenne River. Fourth, Tetons Minnakenozzo, a nation inhabiting both sides of the Missouri, above the Cheyenne River, and containing about two hundred and fifty men. Fifth, Tetons Saone; these inhabit both sides of the Missouri below the Warreconne River, and consist of about three hundred men. Sixth, Yanktons of the Plains, or Big Devils, who rove on the heads of the Sioux, Jacques and Red rivers; the most numerous of all the tribes, and number about five hundred men. Seventh, Wahpatone; a nation residing on the St. Peter's, just above the mouth of that river, and numbering two hundred men. Eighth, Mindawarcarton, or proper Dacorta or Sioux Indians. These possess the original seat of the Sioux, and are properly so denominated. They rove on both sides of the Mississippi, about the Falls of St. Anthony, and consist of three hundred men. Ninth, the Wahpatoota, or Leaf Beds. This nation inhabits both sides of the river St. Peter's, below the Yellow Wood River, amounting to about one hundred and fifty men. Tenth, Sistasoone; this nation numbers two hundred men, and reside at the head of the St. Peter's." (London edition of 1815, vol. 2, pp. 83-4.) The Sioux are also referred to by Lewis and Clarke as occupying practically the whole of the region embraced between the Mississippi, the Red River of Lake Winnipeg, the Saskatchewan and the Missouri, and being "a nation whose primitive name is Darcota, but who are called Sioux by the French, Sues by the English." That of these, "what may be considered as the Darcotas," were the Mindawarcarton, or Minowakanton, "known to the French by the name of the Gens du lac, or People of the Lake," on both sides of the Mississippi near the Falls of St. Anthony, the Wahpatone on the St. Peter's; still farther up and below Yellowwood River the Wahpatootas; and the Sisatoones on the sources of the St. Peter's. That these bands "rarely if ever approach the Missouri, which is occupied by their kinsmen the Yanktons and the Tetons." And after referring to the two tribes of Yanktons—that of the north, "a wandering race of about five hundred men, who roam over the plains at the head of the Jaques, the Sioux, and the Red River; and those of the south who possess the country between the Jaques and Sioux rivers, and the Desmoines"—they add: "But the bands of Sioux most known on the Missouri are the Tetons. The first who are met on ascending the Missouri, is the tribe called by the French the Tetons of the Bois Brule, or Burntwood, who reside on both sides of the Missouri, about White and Teton rivers, and number two hundred warriors. Above them on the Missouri are the Teton Okanandas, a band of one hundred and fifty men, living below the Cheyenne River, between which and the Wetarhoo River is a third band, called the Teton Minnakenozzo, of nearly two hundred and fifty men; and below the Warreconne is the fourth and last tribe of Tetons of about three hundred men, and

called Teton Saone." They then refer to the Assiniboins of the north as being "descendants or seceders from" the Sioux. Also that the "Sioux themselves, though scattered, meet annually on the Jaques, those on the Missouri trading with those on the Mississippi." (Pp. 199-201.)

Brackenridge, who came up the Missouri River in 1810, states, in his "Views of Louisiana" (Balto. edition, 1817, pp. 155-6): "Sioux Tribes. On an ancient map I have seen them named Naddouwessioux; the Noddouwesses of Carver, are probably a band of Sioux—are nearly all wandering tribes, and may be considered as divided into four nations, the Sioux, Teton, Assineboin and Black-feet." He then refers to the Missouri River tribes as follows: "Tetons, Bois Brule, Arkandada, Minikiniad-za, Sahone. —These are the pirates or marauders of the Missouri, their country without timber, and not good for hunting, except as to the buffaloe, they have therefore hardly any thing but buffaloe robes to trade." He then describes, in quotation, the following boundaries as limiting "The Sioux bands claim," viz: "beginning at the confluence of the riviere des Moines and the Mississippi, thence to the river St. Peters, thence on both sides of the Mississippi to Crow Wing river, and upwards with that stream, including the waters of the upper part of Red river of Lake Winipec, and down to the Pemberton river; thence a south west course to intersect the Missouri river at or near the Mandans, and with that stream, down to the Warricon river, thence crossing the Missouri, it goes to include the lower part of the Chienne river, all the waters of White river, and Teton river, including the lower portion of the Qui Courre, and returns with that stream downward to the Missouri, thence eastward to the beginning."

Catlin (who came up the Missouri in 1832, spending considerable time at Fort Pierre) says the name "Sioux" (pronounced see-oo) "is one that has been given to them by the French traders, the meaning of which I have never learned; their own name being, in their language, Dah-co-ta." He says of that location: "I am now in the heart of the country belonging to the numerous tribes of Sioux or Dahcotas." He refers to the Sioux country as extending from the Mississippi to the base of the Rocky Mountains; says the Sioux "are everywhere a migratory or roaming tribe, divided into forty-two bands or families," and speaks of "one principal and familiar division" of them all "into what are called the Mississippi and Missouri Sioux," the former living on the Mississppi, "concentrating at Prairie du Chien and Fort Snelling," the latter constituting "the great mass of this tribe who inhabit the shores of the Missouri, and fearlessly roam on the vast plains entervening between it and the Rocky Mountains." He also mentions Fort Pierre as "the concentrating place, and principal trading depot, for this powerful tribe, who number, when all taken together, something like forty or fifty thousand." This estimate is doubtless considerably exaggerated, as will be seen by comparing the figures which are given above, with those found below.

Lieutenant G. K. Warren, who accompanied the Sioux expedition up the Missouri in 1855 to Fort Pierre, and whose report is embodied in the Report of the Secretary of War published in 1856 (Ex. Doc. No. 76, 34th

Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 15-17), says in substance: That the Dacotas occupy most of the country from the Mississippi to the Black Hills, and from the forks of the Platte on the south to Devil's Lake on the north. That they say their name means "leagued or allied," and that they sometimes speak of themselves as the "Ocheti Shaowni," or "Seven Council Fires." That the seven principal bands composing the nation are: (1) The Mdewakan-tonwans, meaning village of the Spirit lake. (2) Wahpekutes, meaning leaf shooters. (3) Wahpe-tonwans, meaning village in the leaves. (4) Sisi-tonwans, meaning village of the marsh. That these four constitute the Mississippi and Minnesota Dakotas, and are called by those on the Missouri "Isanties." That they are estimated at 6,200 souls. (5) The Ihanktonwans, village at the end (Yanktons), sometimes called Wichiyela or "First Nation." They are found at the mouth of the Big Sioux and between it and the James, and on the opposite bank of the Missouri; supposed to number 360 lodges. "Contact with the whites has considerably degenerated them, and their distance from the present buffalo ranges renders them comparatively poor." (6) The Ihanktonwannas, one of the "end village" bands (Yanktonais) range between the James and Missouri as high north as Devil's Lake; number 800 lodges. He adds, in quotation: "From the Wazikute branch of this band the Assiniboins, or Hohe of the Dacotas, are said to have sprung." (7) The Titonwans, village of the prairie, of whom he again quotes: "are supposed to constitute more than one-half of the whole Dacota nation." Live on west side of the Missouri, "and take within their range the Black Hills from between the forks of the Platte to the Yellowstone river." Are allied by marriage with the Sheyennes and Aricarees, "but are mortal enemies of the Pawnees." That, except a few Brules on White river, they have never planted corn. That they are divided into seven bands, viz.: 1. Unkpapas, they who camp by themselves; live on the Missouri near mouth of Moreau, and roam from the Big Shyenne to the Yellowstone, and west to Black Hills. Formerly intermarried extensively with the Shyennes; number about 365 lodges. 2. Sihaspapas, Blackfeet. Haunts and homes same as Unkpapas; number 165 lodges. 3. Oo-he-nonpas, two boilings or two kettle band. Now very much scattered among other bands; number about 100 lodges. 4. Sichangus, burnt thighs, Brules, claim the country along White river and contiguous to it; number 480 lodges. They include the Wazazahas, "to which belonged Matoiya (the Scattering Bear), made chief of all the Dacotas by the government, and who was killed by Lieutenant Grattan." 5. Ogalalas, they who live in the mountains; live between forks of Platte, and number 360 lodges. 6. Minikanyes, they who plant by the water; live on and between the forks of the Shyenne and in Black Hills; number 200 lodges. 7. Itahzipchois, Bowpith, Sans Arc, claim in common with the Minikanyes; number 170 lodges.

Lieutenant Warren then makes the following estimate of the Dacotas, "on and west of the Missouri, which includes all but the Isanties," in the order of "Lodges," "Inmates," and "Warriors," viz.:

Yanktons, 360, 2,880, 572; Yanktonais, 800, 6,400, 1,240; Unkpapas,

365, 2,920, 584; Blackfeet, 165, 1,280, 256; Two Kettle, 100, 800, 160; Brule, 480, 3,840, 748; Ogalalas, 360, 2,880, 576; Minikanyes, 200, 1,600, 272; Sans Arc, 170, 1,360, 272. The grand totals are: Lodges, 3,000; inmates, 24,000; warriors, 4,800.

[25]**William Laidlow** was of Scotch descent, and had been in the service of the British Fur Companies prior to his becoming connected with the Columbia Fur Company, in the interest of which latter concern he was in charge of Fort Tecumseh before that post came into possession of the American Fur Company. He had the reputation of being a hard master with those under him; was thoroughly grounded in the fur trading business; a lover of the chase; was regarded as a valuable correspondent and manager for the company. Later on and for many years after the American Fur Company became master of the fur business on the upper Missouri, he was stationed at Fort Union. Larpenteur mentions his name in that connection in 1844-5. He was somewhat given to intemperance. He possessed considerable means when he retired; owned a comfortable home near Liberty, Missouri, "where he kept open door to his friends as long as his money lasted." He died poor.

[26]**Kenneth McKenzie,** "the ablest trader that the American Fur Company ever possessed," was born of distinguished parentage in Ross-shire, Inverness, Scotland, in 1801. Was related to Alexander McKenzie, who made the first journey across the continent by white men north of the Spanish possessions (1789-93). He came to America at an early age and was employed by the British Fur Companies. His connection with the Columbia Fur Company is related in note 17, as also his connection with the Upper Missouri Outfit thereafter. His was the task of pioneering the fur business into the newer regions in and bordering upon the mountains, when the country was beset by hostile Indians, which labor he prosecuted with enthusiasm and tireless energy. He devised Fort Union, the finest and best equipped trading post west of the Mississippi. His connection with the clandestine distillery operations at Fort Union, however, practically ended his usefulness in the fur trade. (See note 4.) He retired from the country, visited Europe, returned for a short time to Fort Union; and upon closing up his affairs with the American Fur Company was possessed of $50,000. Thereafter he established himself, but unsuccessfully, in the wholesale liquor trade; he soon parted with most of his fortune in lavish hospitality. He seemed born to command, was a most severe disciplinarian, "and he had little regard for human life when it stood in his way." His ability was undoubted, his authority dreaded. He was given to appearing in "a kind of state," wearing uniform generally, in his business. Larpenteur speaks of him as he saw him in 1834, when first meeting him at Fort Union, in this wise: "Imagine my surprise, on entering Mr. Campbell's room, to find myself in the presence of Mr. McKenzie, who was at that time considered the king of the Missouri; and from the style in which he was dressed, I thought really he was a king." He was extremely fond of buffalo hunting with trained horses; was a keen observer of the country, and collected many curios

illustrating its features. Chittenden says of him: "From his headquarters at Fort Union, McKenzie ruled over an extent of country greater than that of many a notable empire in history. His outposts were hundreds of miles away. His parties of trappers roamed far and wide through the fastnesses of the mountains. From every direction tribes of roving Indians came to his post to trade. Altogether it was a remarkable business that he followed, and one which only a man of great ability could have handled successfully." He possessed a fair education, and his correspondence in connection with the fur-trading period is said to have been "extremely well written." He married late in life and left two daughters; he also had a son by an Indian wife, whose name was Owen McKenzie, who became prominent in the upper Missouri trade. Kenneth McKenzie was killed by Malcolm Clark in St. Louis April 26, 1861. Larpenteur says he was "some near connection," and Dr. Coues that he was "some sort of a cousin" of Sir Alexander McKenzie. Speaking of his great feat in bringing the hostile Blackfeet to a treaty in the winter of 1830-1, resulting in the opening of that country to trade and the building of Fort McKenzie at the mouth of the Marias, Dr. Coues says: "McKenzie's genius was perhaps never better displayed than in this great stroke of business, which had far-reaching commercial, political, military, and even ecclesiastical consequences, in the development of the whole region over which his operations extended."

[27]The site of old Fort Pierre is two and seven-eighths miles above the mouth of the Teton or Bad River, and a little more than one mile west of the meridian line passing through the mouth of Bad River, it being located upon what is known in the congressional survey as Lot 3 in Section 16, Township 5 north of Range 31, east of Black Hills meridian. It is also the exact site of the dwelling house occupied by James Philip (popularly known as "Scotty" Philip) as his homestead, which embraces said site. To a close observer the outlines of the old stockade are still partially visible, and particularly the foundations of the bastion at the southeast corner of the stockade. The east line of the stockade is now within about seventy-five feet of the bank of the Missouri River, which bank is being steadily worn away at that point by inroads of the water. Captain Chittenden, who made a careful examination of the journals and correspondence of the American Fur Company at St. Louis, states that the post was 325 by 340 feet and contained about two and a half acres of ground. The post was planned, or at least contemplated, by the company as a successor to Fort Tecumseh, as early as 1828 or 1829, and was not fully completed until about the end of 1832, but was occupied by William Laidlow and Jacob Halsey, clerks of the company, April 15, 1832. A letter is on file among the company's papers, dated Fort Tecumseh, May 10, 1832, signed by Kenneth McKenzie, and another dated Fort Pierre, June 17, 1832, signed by William Laidlow. Still another dated Fort Tecumseh, June 14, 1832, signed by Laidlow, "from Jacob Halsey addressed to Pierre Chouteau, Jr., on board the Steamer Yellowstone shows Mr. Chouteau was shortly expected at that post." The "Yellowstone" arrived at Fort Pierre from St. Louis May 31, 1832, according to

Chittenden, however, with Mr. Chouteau on board, and the new post was christened "Fort Pierre" in his honor as "representative of the house of St. Louis." It is therefore probable that the letter dated June 14 refers to the expected arrival of Mr. Chouteau back from the trip to Fort Union, as the boat returned to Fort Pierre June 24. Chittenden states that the new post was "back about a quarter of a mile from the Missouri," but this point is in doubt, as the present Pierre Chouteau, grandson of him who is mentioned in the correspondence referred to, states that the distance from the river to the fort has been variously estimated by old river pilots and those connected with the business of the American Fur Company at "from a few yards to 1,000," which latter estimate is regarded by the grandson as "nearly correct, as Fort Tecumseh was abandoned from fear of being washed away." A pen drawing has been made of old Fort Pierre for and under the supervision of Mr. Chouteau, based in part upon records and in part upon recollections of the steamboat pilots, Charles P. Chouteau, son of Pierre Chouteau, Jr., and various employes of the American Fur Company, and a duplicate of the same has been presented to the writer of these notes, a reproduction of which will be found in this volume. Some of the smallest buildings within the stockade are not represented in this drawing. Besides being the finest and best equipped trading post on the upper Missouri with the single exception of Fort Union, this post was really the principal up-river trading center of the American Fur Company. Its location substantially at the confluence of the Teton with the Missouri River was the most important commercial point in the entire northwest within the limits of the Louisiana Purchase. Here were centered various well-known Indian and trading trails and thoroughfares, connecting this point with eastern and southern trading and military centers on the James, Big Sioux, St. Peters, Minnesota, Mississippi and other streams and the lower Missouri, and westward to where Fort Laramie became established on the upper Platte—it being the nearest and most practicable point for transporting supplies from the Missouri River westward to Laramie, the Black Hills and other neighboring points—and there were trails and roads thence northward, as well as southward to the White and Platte rivers; while the Teton or Bad River route had long been the natural and usual one for Indian travel to and from remote points to the west and southwest, and eastward to the upper Mississippi and the Great Lakes region. Here Lewis and Clarke had their first serious encounter with the Sioux; here were found the headquarters of various tribes, in the form of evidences of a winter camp, in 1810, when the Hunt-Astoria expedition and the Lisa party halted on their way up the Missouri; here Catlin found the center of the Sioux country in 1832; here Fremont and Nicollet ended their up-river journey in 1839; here the Raynolds expedition took its departure from the Missouri in 1859. To old Fort Pierre came the Indian missionaries as headquarters in the process of laying foundations for civilizing the Indians in this region of country.

[28]**George Catlin** was born in Wyoming county, Pennsylvania, July 26, 1796, and died in Jersey City, New Jersey, December 23, 1873. He says

of himself, in his introduction to his "North American Indians": "The early part of my life was whiled away, apparently, somewhat in vain, with books reluctantly held in one hand, and a rifle or fishing-pole firmly and affectionately grasped in the other." His father was a practicing lawyer, through whom he says, "I was prevailed upon to abandon these favorite themes, and also my occasional dabblings with the brush, which had secured already a corner in my affections"; and that he "commenced reading law for a profession, under the direction of Reeve and Gould, of Connecticut." After two years he was admitted to the bar and practiced law, "as a sort of nimrodical lawyer" in Pennsylvania for "two or three" years, when, he says, "I very deliberately sold my law library and all (save my rifle and fishing-tackle), and, converting their proceeds into brushes and pots, I commenced the art of painting in Philadelphia, without teacher or adviser." For several years thereafter he applied himself assiduously to his chosen profession, during which time, he says, "my mind was continuously reaching for some branch or enterprise of art, on which to devote a whole life-time of enthusiasm." The event of a visit of "a delegation of some ten or fifteen noble and dignified looking Indians, from the wilds of the 'Far West'" to Philadelphia, "arrayed in all their classic beauty—with shield and helmet, with tunic and manteau—tinted and tasselled off, exactly for the painter's pallette!" seems to have been the immediate inspiring cause of Catlin's departure to the great west and the Indian countries of the Americas in general, and of his resolve to become an Indian painter and historian. The ideal premise upon which he built his concept of his noble life-purpose was thus expressed by him: "Man, in the simplicity and loftiness of his nature, unrestrained and unfettered by the disguises of art, is surely the most beautiful model for the painter, and the country from which he hails is unquestionably the best study or school of the arts in the world: such, I am sure, from the models I have seen, is the wilderness of North America." He took his departure for the west in 1832, and spent about eight years among the American Indians in his chosen pursuit. Before leaving Philadelphia, however, he had already won such distinction as a painter, particularly in miniature water colors or ivory work, as to have been admitted as an academician in the Pennsylvania Academy of Fine Arts. He had in 1828 married Clara B. Gregory. His paintings of Mrs. Dolly Madison and Governor Clinton are among the most famous of his work in the east. After completing his Indian paintings he visited Europe with his Indian gallery, and became known throughout American and Europe as the classic Indian painter. Most of his paintings long since became a prominent feature in the Smithsonian Institution. Upon arriving in the Indian country of the west and perceiving the ruthlessness with which the buffalo were being slaughtered he predicted that the species would soon become rare, if not extinct, unless the prevailing practice was repressed—and that he spoke with prophetic vision is now known. His buffalo pictures are almost as familiar in the public mind as those of leading Indian characters and scenes, weapons, etc. He made a profound study of the Indians themselves, and his observations concern-

ing their character and life, after having tarried among them for years beyond the confines of civilization, reveal a deep conviction of their native moral worth before the contaminating influences of the white man's touch had been felt—a conclusion which, in all substance, has been borne out in greater or less degree by every fair-minded student of Indian character who has registered his views upon the subject.

Catlin came up the river from St. Louis in 1832 on the steamer Yellowstone, on her second trip up the river to Fort Pierre (her first trip to that point having been made the previous year), but the steamer, which left St. Louis March 26th, grounded at or near the Ponca village in the neighborhood of the mouth of the Niobrara, and Catlin accompanied a party dispatched by Chouteau, overland to Fort Pierre, passing the Bijou Hills, which latter point they passed "after traveling for several days," and the party arrived at Fort Pierre Wednesday, May 23d, according to the entry in the post journal of that date. The entry is: "Eighteen men arrived from steamboat Yellowstone. She is stopped for want of water about sixty miles below White river." Catlin must have been sojourning at Fort Pierre for about eight days before the Yellowstone arrived there on May 31st. On the evening of June 5 she proceeded up river to Fort Union, he being on board. Catlin, after remaining at the mouth of the Yellowstone (Fort Union) several weeks, returned down the river in a canoe accompanied by his man Bogard, arriving at Fort Pierre on August 14, 1832, and left there to continue his journey down the river, according to the entries in the journal of Fort Pierre (whose dates are used in the foregoing account as to Fort Pierre) on August 16th. Catlin, without giving dates, has recorded much general information from which can be gathered substantial conclusions as to the duration of his up-river visit to Fort Pierre. He states (Third London edition, 1842, vol. 1, p. 220), after referring to the fact of the arrival up-stream of the "Yellowstone" at that point and of the expectancy of the Indians in connection with that great event, that he commenced his operations in painting there "After resting a few days, and recovering from the fatigues of my journey, having taken a fair survey of the Sioux village, and explained my views to the Indians, as well as to the gentlemen whom I have above named" (McKenzie, Laidlow and Halsey); and he relates with great circumstantiality his work in painting the portraits of a large number of Sioux chiefs and braves and Indian women, speaks of the superstition engendered in the Indians thereby and of its growth into a condition somewhat alarming, and of "some considerable delay" and "much deliberation on the subject" before he could induce the women to sit for their pictures; says he was "for a long time" at loss for the cause of the Indians whose portraits had been painted, "watching or guarding their portraits"; and adds that after he had been "several weeks busily at work" with his brush there, "and pretty well used to the modes of life in these regions," it "was announced one day, that the steamer which we had left was coming in the river below, where all eyes were anxiously turned, and all ears were listening; when, at length, we discovered the puffing of her steam; and, at last, heard the thundering of her cannon,

which were firing from her deck." He then states that Mr. Chouteau and Major Sanford, Indian agent, came ashore from the steamer, and that this "seemed to restore their confidence and courage," referring to the Indians. He then adds: "The steamer rested a week or two at this place (here he overestimates the time, as she remained there only from May 31st till the evening of June 5th) before she started on her voyage for the headwaters of the Missouri," during which time much hilarity was indulged in over the appearance of the steamer, etc. (p. 227). At another time and in 1834, while at the Pipestone Quarry or near there, having met Mr. LaFromboise, he tells him what he calls the "dog story," the facts embraced in which transpired at Fort Pierre while he was there in 1832 and in connection with his painting of the Indian "The Dog"—a tragic event in its denouement—and in telling this story he says: "About four months previous to the moment I am now speaking of, I had passed up the Missouri River by this place, on the steamboat Yellowstone, on which I ascended the Missouri to the mouth of Yellow stone river." That the steamer stopped "at this trading post, and remained several weeks." We make these extensive quotations and explanations for the purpose of throwing light upon the question of the duration of Catlin's sojourning at Fort Pierre—a question which he himself leaves in entire confusion, as he gives next to no dates, and all of his six letters written, supposedly, at Fort Pierre and headed "Mouth of Teton River, Upper Missouri," are without date. That he spent about sixteen days at Fort Pierre, on the two occasions is certain, and it may be that he remained there for a longer period of time, and it is not improbable that he did, from the amount of painting done by him there, and the very extensive accounts given of the Indian country at large, with the many incidents into which he proceeds in the six letters mentioned, covering the whole subject in the sense of a historical narrative. Even supposing that some of these letters were written after he left Fort Pierre (which is indeed not improbable), yet he evidently made that point his headquarters for the purpose of arranging his notes for the greater part of his upper Missouri trip. Still, unless the Fort Pierre journal entry of May 23d refers to another party than that with which he traveled overland, he doubtless arrived at the post on that day, on the up-trip.

Catlin, after leaving Fort Pierre, passed down the river to St. Louis, afterwards proceeding to the Florida country, thence west to the Arkansas country, where he nearly lost his life in the ill-fated Fort Gibson expedition under Colonel Dodge in 1834; returning to the Mississippi at Alton, Ill., and to St. Louis again; traveling thence up the Mississippi to St. Anthony Falls and Fort Snelling, back to Camp DesMoines and St. Louis, and next appears at the Pipestone Quarries, having previously gone east of the Alleghenies and back via the Great Lakes and over the divide to Prairie du Chien; thence east to Rock Island, and finally to Fort Moultrie, S. C., in his long wanderings narrated in his "North American Indians." He also traveled in South America. His works as a whole constitute the great classic upon the American Indians, and his life-work is a monument of the devoted explorer into the realms of Indian character. That he

looked into the subject somewhat on its fantastic side, and with an enthusiasm which led him into some excesses in description and delineation, is doubtless true. Whether these tendencies have warranted some drastic criticisms and some insinuations against his integrity, which have been indulged in by his contemporaries and later historians, may be matter of doubt and dispute.

[29]**Jacob Halsey,** who was clerk and partner in the Upper Missouri Outfit, kept the journal at Fort Pierre; into which he at one time interpolated "an interesting dissertation" upon the Mandan and Aricara Indians. He was also clerk at Fort Union during a number of years. His experience in the fur trade made him a valuable assistant. He was somewhat addicted to hard drink. The terrible visitation of smallpox at Fort Union in 1837 was occasioned by Halsey's advent to that post while stricken with the disease. He was killed near Liberty, Missouri, in 1842, while riding on horseback through some woods while intoxicated, he being then on a visit to Laidlow's home.

[30]**Joseph LaBarge** was born in St. Louis October 1, 1815, and died there April 3, 1899. He was the most prominent of all the Missouri River pilots, having spent the most of his life in that service, principally in the employ of the American Fur Company. He at one time accumulated a large fortune in the river freight business, but subsequently lost most of his property. A man of integrity and high moral character, he was the best of his type of the Missouri River pilot. In the days of the fur trade his up-river pilotage extended from St. Louis to Fort Benton, and he was a familiar figure at all of the trading and military posts throughout that extensive stretch of country. He brought the steamboat Yellowstone up to Fort Pierre on her first trip to that point in 1831.

[31]**The Property at Fort Pierre**—Following is a copy of the original memorandum description of the buildings, etc., at old Fort Pierre in 1855 and about the time of the purchase thereof by the United States, which memorandum is on file in the war department, viz:

Description of the buildings, &c. &c. at Fort Pierre, their condition and cost of repairing them.

		$ c
No. 1.	Gate 10 feet wide and 16 feet high, out repair, cost of repairing it	100.00
No. 2.	Carpenter Shop, one story, 7½ feet high, mud, roof, house of hewed logs, dropped in horizontally between vertical posts, old and dilapidated, cost to repair it	800.00
No. 3.	Blacksmith, Tin & Saddlers shops, 7½ feet story same as Carpenter shop, cost to repair it	950.00
No. 4.	Stables same as shops, with 20 imperfect stalls, 6 feet story for animals, with an attic hay loft to hold one ton of hay, cost to repair it	700.00
No. 5.	Store House, constructed same as shops excepting it has a shingle roof 9 feet story, with the roof attic space, but no joists (above) floor of rough hard puncheons open cracks two to four inches wide, house sinking and careening, sleepers broken roof old and leaking, cost to repair	1000.00

No. 6.	Magazine of adobe one story, covered with metal, a tenable structure, cost to repair doors & floor	20.00
No. 7.	An old log house of similar construction as the shops, mud roof, now falling down, cost to repair it	500.00
No. 8.	Block House, 2 stories, shingle roof, out of repair, cost to repair it	400.00
No. 9.	Log House story and half, lower story 8 feet, out of repair, cost to repair it	400.00
No. 10.	Ice House, old and out of repair covered with shingles (worn old and worthless) cost to repair it	200.00
No. 11 & 12.	Kitchens, log hut, rotten roof, once of shingles now rotted the whole worthless cost to repair it	800.00
No. 13.	Log House 5 rooms one & a half story, floors and loft of cotton wood all open and out of tenable condition, doors, windows and roof out of repair, cost to repair it	1800.00
No. 14.	Log House one & half story, roof of old shingles. Roof, floors, doors and windows all dilapidated, cost to repair it	400.00
No. 15.	An adobe house one and half story, mud roof, out of repair, cost of repairing	350.00
No. 16.	Log Store House, now nearly fallen down, covered with old shingles, the whole house out of repair, cost of repairing	1000.00
No. 17.	Log Store House similar to the next above, cost to repair it	800.00
No. 18.	Log Huts, 7 feet story, mud roof, now falling down, eminently dangerous to inhabit, worthless, cost of making good	4500.00
No. 19.	Block House, same as Block House above mentioned, excepting it is careening down, cost to repair it	500.00
No. 20 & 21.	Mere open sheds with cotton wood poles for uprights placed in the ground, rotted and covered with slabs, open crack of 3 inches, worthless, not worth mentioning nor of service.	
No. 22.	An irregular shed house covered with old shingles, conical roof, supported on seven posts in the ground, used for sheltering horses working in the mill, the same mill being under shed No. 2. Out of repair, cost to repair it	150.00
No. 23.	Horse lot gate 10 feet wide & 16 feet high, out of repair, cost to repair it	50.00
	b Horse Lot.	
	Front and North Pickets old and falling down, (rotted off at the ground) cost of repairing (is that of making new)	3500.00
	Saw Mill old and worn. Repairs required	500.00
	Total cost of repairing at Fort Pierre Island.	19420.00
	4 Log Huts of the roughest possible make 7 feet high, of round logs (with bark on) covered with mud, one has fallen with	

And the following is a copy of the original contract of sale of Fort

Pierre to the United States, as found on file in the war department, viz.:

Memorandum of agreement made and entered into this 14th day of April, 1855. Between General Thos. S. Jesup, Quarter-Master General, U. S. Army, on behalf of the United States of the one part and General Charles Gratiot on behalf of Pierre Choteau & Company of the other part as follows: That the said Charles Gratiot as Agent of the company doth hereby agree with the said General Thos. S. Jesup, on the part of the United States, to sell to the United States for the sum of $45,000, the trading establishment on the Missouri River, near the mouth of the Little Missouri River, called and known as "Fort Pierre," together with all the buildings within and around the Pickets of the said Fort, and all the lumber and other building materials in and around it, reference being had to the plan and description hereto annexed, and will deliver the same to such officer or agent of the United States as may be designated to receive it on or before the 30th day of June, 1855, on the arrival of said officer or agent.

It is agreed and understood, that should the fort and buildings on the arrival of the agent appointed to receive them, be found out of repair, the said Pierre Chouteau & Co., shall place them all, and singular the buildings, pickets, mill, stables, &c. &c., in good repair, order and condition, free of all expense to the United States, to make such repairs, however, should they be needed, the said Pierre Choteau & Co., to have the materials, such as lumber, &c., now on hand at the post, to enable the company to make the repairs. That the lumber and appurtenances hereby sold to, and to be delivered to the agent of the U. S., and the only articles not included in the purchase, are the merchandise, household and kitchen furniture, blacksmith's tools, carpenters, wheelwrights and saddlers tools in the shops at the establishment. That the mill is to be delivered in good working order, together with all its appurtenances, animals excepted, which now are or may be at the fort at the time of delivery and transfer.

It is agreed and distinctly understood, that the purchase includes all the buildings within the enclosure, around the fort, on the main-land and the island in the vicinity, and that any right or claim of possession now owned by the said Pierre Choteau & Co., to the land in the vicinity of the fort, and the whole island is hereby abandoned to the United States, for their use forever.

In witness whereof we have hereunto set our hands the day and year first above written.

Ch. Gratiot,
Agt. of P. Choteau & Co.,
Thos. S. Jesup,
Qr. Mr. General.

Approved:
Jeffn. Davis,
Secretary of War.

[32]**The Gates of Fort Pierre**—Whether both gates were on the east side is doubtful. The drawing made under the directions of Mr. Chouteau shows but one gate in front. It is of course probable that there were two, as appears in the plat accompanying Major Wilson's article. Yet there may have been but one front gate in the earlier days of the fort. Arthur C. VanMeter of Fort Pierre, who came with General Harney to Fort Pierre in 1855, and who has examined the pen drawing made for Mr. Chouteau, states that it is a true representation of the old post as he remembers it; and he states that there was a second gate leading from the main enclosure on the north side into the horse corral, the gate being near the northeast corner. It is not probable that the bastions

were twenty-four feet square. The plan shown in the accompanying article represents them to be eighteen feet square, which dimensions are much more likely to be in accord with the fact.

[33]Compare this statement with note 27.

[34]**Relics of Fort Pierre**—Some of the iron castings of the old corn-mill machinery, as well as the foundation stone of the mill works, have been unearthed and are now at Fort Pierre; and it is believed that some of the remains of the earthworks of the magazine structure are still discoverable. There was also a tall flagpole in the center of the enclosure, from the top of which a flag floated, having upon it the firm name of the proprietors of the fur company.

[35]In this the writer is in error. Many like instances are known in connection with other trading posts. For instance: Fort Alexander (Culberson), Fort William (Sublette), Fort John (Sarpy), Fort Manuel (Lisa), Forts George and Charles (from English kings), etc.

[36]For an account of Nicollet, see the paper of Dr. Wm. M. Blackburn, on Dakota, edited by Dr. DeLorme W. Robinson, published in this volume.

[37]**Fort Union,** or the post, first known as Fort Floyd, and afterwards as Fort Union, was built on the east side of the Missouri River about four miles (following the winding course of the river) above the confluence of the Missouri and the Yellowstone, but in a more direct line is a little more than three miles therefrom; and its location is about one and a half miles above Fort Buford, which latter is located about two miles below the mouth of the Yellowstone and on the east side of the Missouri, the long westward bend in the river making these two posts so much farther apart by water than by land. The post first called Fort Union was, however, located two hundred miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone and was built, as was Fort Union proper, in 1829, but was afterwards abandoned. Before the end of 1830 the name "Floyd" had been abandoned and that of "Fort Union" had been given to the post now under consideration. It was the first permanent post built by the American Fur Company above the Mandans, and stood as the great fur trading landmark on the Missouri above Fort Pierre, and as a substantial connecting link between the mountain trade and general traffic in that region of country. It was intended originally to facilitate the Assiniboine Indian trade as the chief feature. The name "Union" in connection therewith seems to have sprung from the desire of Kenneth McKenzie, under whose superintendence it was built, to carry out his idea of "keeping in view a union at some convenient point above with the free hunters," and thereby to control both the river and mountain trade. It was probably built in 1828, and was begun in all probability during the first half of October of that year, though Maximilian states that it was begun in 1829. Colonel Chittenden thus describes that important post:

"Fort Union was the best built post on the Missouri, and with the possible exception of Bent's fort on the Arkansas, the best in the entire

west. It was 240 by 220 feet, the shorter side facing the river, and was surrounded by a palisade of square hewn pickets about a foot thick and twenty feet high. The bastions were at the southwest and northeast corners, and consisted of square houses twenty-four feet on a side and thirty feet high, built entirely of stone, and surmounted with pyramidal roofs. There were two stories; the lower one was pierced for cannon and the upper had a balcony for better observation. The usual banquette extended around the inner wall of the fort. The entrance was large and was secured with a powerful gate, which in 1837 was changed to a double gate on account of the dangerous disposition of the Indians owing to the smallpox scourge. On the opposite side of the square from the entrance was the house of the bourgeois, a well-built, commodious two-story structure, with glass windows, fire-place and other 'modern conveniences.' Around the square were the barracks for the employes, the store houses, workshops, stables, a cut stone powder magazine capable of holding 50,000 pounds, and a reception room for the Indians. In the center of the court was a tall flagstaff, around which were the leathern tents of the half-breeds in the service of the company. Near the flagstaff stood one or two cannon trained upon the entrance to the fort. Somewhere in the enclosure was the famous distillery of 1833-4. All of the buildings were of cottonwood lumber, and everything was of an unusually elaborate character. Nathaniel J. Wyeth, when he visited Union in 1833, declared that he had seen no British post that could compare with it."

It is not at all certain, however, that this post was not known as Fort Floyd until about the end of 1830; as a letter from Pierre Chouteau, Jr., to W. B. Astor, dated April 19, 1830, indicates that at that time there were three posts on the upper Missouri above Fort Pierre, viz, the Mandan post, Fort Floyd, and Fort Union 200 miles farther up. Fort Union was finished in 1833, a destructive fire having occurred February 4, 1832, materially damaging it. Catlin visited the post in 1832, Maximilian in 1833, and Audubon in 1843. Larpenteur's narrative concerning this post and his experience there while in charge (see chap. 5, et seq.) is very interesting. Audubon's Journals, vol. 2, p. 180, contains an elaborate description of the post; and in Larpenteur, vol. 1, opposite to page 68 is found what is said to be an accurate drawing of it as it appeared in 1864.

[38]James Kipp, a Canadian of German descent, who came to the Missouri in the employ of the Columbia Fur Company in 1822, was so connected with the establishing of the post of Fort Clark as that he is regarded by some writers as its founder. In May, 1822, he built a small post between the site of the future Fort Clark and "the forest in which the inhabitants of Mih-Tutta-Hang-Cush live in the winter," which was completed in November, and which was probably the first trading post built in the farther region of the upper Missouri. In November, 1825, he built a post a little below the mouth of White Earth River, for the Assiniboine trade. In the winter of 1830-1 he prepared materials for the foundation of what became known as Fort Clark (see note 6). He built

the first Fort Piegan on the Marias River in the Blackfoot country, for the American Fur Company, begun in October, 1831 (succeeded by the later Fort Piegan or McKenzie, completed by Culbertson), and in 1832 returned to Fort Clark, where he wintered in 1832-3 as clerk under Lamont, and took charge of that post in 1833 and 1834. He was long connected with the Missouri fur trade. After leaving Fort Clark he was stationed for many years at the later Fort Piegan. His name doubtless connects him with the building of the small post of Fort Kipp on the Missouri, about fifty-seven channel miles above the mouth of the Yellowstone, and probably built in the early fifties; which post was burned down prior to 1857, and it seems to have been known as one of the "Rolette Houses."

[39]**Fort Leavenworth** is situated on the west bank of the Missouri River about five miles north of Leavenworth city, in Kansas. Colonel Leavenworth's selection of its site, reported May 8, 1827, to the war department, marks the substantial date of its establishment and the removal of military stores from Fort Atkinson, near Council Bluffs, to that point. The location of that post was regarded by Colonel Leavenworth as the most practicable of any within twenty miles from the mouth of the Little Platte on the Missouri—his orders having been to select a site within that area. It was destined to be the initial point of departure for a great part of the fur trading and exploring expeditions towards the mountains and for Santa Fe; and the regulations of the Indian trade were carried out from that post as a general center, for many years. (See Chittenden, vol. 2, pages 630-1.)

[40]**Fort Piegan** was built in 1831 by James Kipp for the American Fur Company; was begun about October 15th and finished about December 25th; was named from the Piegan band of the Blackfoot Indians and established immediately to foster the beaver trade with them. It stood in the angle between the Marias and the Missouri and on the north side of the latter. An immense trade in furs was carried on there that winter by Kipp; but when he left the next spring to take his furs to Fort Union, his men refused to remain, and the post was abandoned and was soon afterwards burned by the Indians. David D. Mitchell was sent up in the summer of 1832 to assume charge of affairs at the mouth of the Marias, and upon finding the post destroyed he selected a site six miles farther up the Missouri on its north side in what became known later on as Brule Bottom, where he built a post while his party were seriously imperiled by hostile Indians. This latter post was also known as the later Fort Piegan, but its permanent name became Fort McKenzie. This post is said to have been completed by Culbertson. It was long the seat of the Blackfoot trade. This latter post stood about 120 yards back from the river, was 140 feet square and regularly built, and having "an exceptionally strong gate provided with double doors." It was occupied as late as 1843, and was in turn burned down by the Indians, largely owing, it is said, to a wanton massacre of some Indians by Chardon and Harvey (who were in charge) the preceding winter. The

spot then became known as Brule (burnt wood) Bottom, and was sometimes called Fort Brule.

[41]The firm name was Harvey, Primeau & Company, as it is believed; of which concern Alexander Harvey, who was a reckless desperado and bold adventurer, was the virtual head; and the company maintained for a few years a certain opposition to the American Fur Company. Harvey, many of the incidents of whose life are narrated in Larpenteur's "Forty Years on the Upper Missouri," was so notorious a character that it was said of him: "He was undoubtedly the boldest man that was ever on the Missouri—I mean in the Indian country; a man about six feet tall, weighing 160 or 170 pounds, and inclined to do right when sober." He was born and reared in St. Louis, and was much employed by the American Fur Company. His killing of the Spaniard Isidiro, and other inhuman homicides perpetrated by him, as well as the alleged conspiracy to kill him, and his participation in the Blackfoot massacre at Fort McKenzie in 1842, was living at Fort Yates in 1896. Another member of the firm was Charles Primeau, a well known fur trader on the Missouri, and for whom Fort Primeau, "which in the fifties or later stood about 300 yards from Fort Clark, at the Mandans," was named, and who also erected the Fort Primeau which was located a short distance above Fort Lafromboise in the Fort Pierre string of posts. He was born in St. Louis and had been a clerk for the American Fur Company before forming the said partnership. He also served the latter company after his own concern mentioned was dissolved, and afterward held an appointment as government interpreter. He was living at Fort Yates in 1896. Another member of the firm was Charles Picotte, nephew of Honore Picotte, who was in charge of various posts for the American Fur Company for many years, who for some years was in charge of Fort Pierre. The fourth member the firm was Bonine, who had been bookkeeper at Fort Pierre immediately preceding the formation of the opposition company.

[42]**Joshua Pilcher** was born at Culpepper, Virginia, March 15, 1790, and went to St. Louis during the war of 1812; was a hatter by occupation, and was also engaged in other mercantile pursuits. He became a member of the Missouri Fur Company in 1819, and was made president of that company upon the death of Manuel Lisa. He continued as head of that company until its dissolution between 1828 and 1830. He became intimately acquainted with the Indian tribes of the Missouri River region. He was employed by the American Fur Company after the dissolution of the Missouri Fur Company, and was in charge of its affairs near Council Bluffs for about two years. In 1838 he was appointed by President Van Buren to succeed General William Clark as superintendent of Indian affairs at St. Louis, which position he held until his death in St. Louis, June 5, 1847. He was unmarried. The date of his death is given by Billon as in 1843.

[43]See note 15, however.

[44]See note 14.

[45]**Fort William** was situated on the northeast bank of the Missouri River a little over two miles by land and about six miles by water below

Fort Union, and became later on substantially, though not the precise, site of Fort Buford. It was commenced August 29, 1833, and finished that fall. It was an "opposition post," and its formidable rivalry of the American Fur Company at that point gave the latter company some concern at the time; so much so that McKenzie used every resource known to the craft to put down the opposition post at all hazards. The American Fur Company, however, through its St. Louis representatives, closed a bargain with Sublette by which they agreed to take over his stock remaining at the end of the next season (1834), and to retire from the mountain trade for that season, much to the chagrin of McKenzie, who had already crushed the new company's prospects at the mouth of the Yellowstone. Fort William was abandoned after Sublette & Campbell thus sold out, and its material was worked into the Fort Union post. However, this is not the last of opposition business at that point; for some years later (the exact date is not clear) another structure composed in part of adobe was erected on its site, or very close to it, the walls of which were still standing in 1865, "when they were torn down to be used in building Fort Buford." The original Fort William was opened for trade November 15, 1833. It is thus described by Larpenteur, who assisted in its construction: "I will here describe the construction of Fort William, which was after the usual formation of trading posts. It was first erected precisely on the spot where the Fort Buford saw mill now (about 1871) stands; but then it was about 200 yards farther from the river, the bank having caved into that distance. It was 150 feet front and 130 deep. The stockade was of cottonwood logs, called pickets, 18 feet in length, hewn on three sides and planted three feet in the ground. The boss' house stood back, opposite the front door; it consisted of a double cabin, having two rooms of 18x20 feet, with a passage between them 12 feet in width; two rooms for the men's quarters 16x18 feet, a carpenter's shop, blacksmith's shop, ice house, meat house, and two splendid bastions. The whole was completed by Christmas of 1833. The bastions were built more for amusement than for protection against hostile Indians," etc.

The name Fort William is found in traders' and travelers' writings from 1833 to 1866; but Dr. Coues states that "all mention of the adobe structure so-called must be distinguished from any reference to the original wooden Fort William, which only endured about a year." In 1843 the opposition post, "on or very near the original site of Fort William," was called Fort Mortimer; Audubon thus mentions it; and Boller, in 1858, speaks of seeing it in his travels, and again in 1863 he says of it: "Of old Fort William nothing was standing save a chimney or two, and portions of the crumbling adobe walls." The original post was named from William Sublette, head of the firm owning it.

This post, and both structures associated with the spot, should be distinguished from what was for a short time known as Fort William erected substantially on the site of the later Fort Laramie on the upper Platte, said Fort William having been built in 1832 by Robert Campbell, "which he named Fort William, after his friend and partner, Mr. William Sublette."

[46]**Fort Van Buren** was built in 1835, and named for the then vice president of the United States. A. J. Tulloch, or "The Crane," as he was called by the Indians, built it for the American Fur Company, it being the second trading post built by the company on the Yellowstone, Tulloch having left Fort Union on the expedition outfitted for its erection September 9, 1835. It stood until 1843, when Larpenteur caused it to be burned down by order of his employers, just before he built Fort Alexander. It was built for the Crow Indian trade. It stood on the south bank of the Yellowstone at the mouth of the Rosebud. This is distinctly stated by Larpenteur, by Dr. Coues, and by Lieutenant James H. Bradley in his journal of Gibbon's Sioux campaign in 1877, in which he says: "Another object of my visit to the mouth of the Rosebud was to inspect the ruins of the old trading fort that once stood there. It bore the name of Fort Van Buren," but he erroneously fixes the year 1839 for its founding. Chittenden, however, states that it stood "near the mouth of Tongue River," and his map indicates that it was located at the mouth of that river and on its western bank, but this is believed to be erroneous. The site of this post and that of Fort Cass have been confused by some writers. But Lieutenant Bradley's journal is, as to the name of the post whose ruins he visited in 1877, based upon "an old manuscript" which proves to have been that of Larpenteur himself. Lieutenant Bradley says of the old post: "The accounts of the fort represent it as having been a little over a hundred feet square, and I judge from the remains, though I have made no measurement, that it was. Seven ruined stone chimneys and a slight ridge where the palisades stood are all that is left of it. * * * The palisades must have been burned, as the ridge is marked with cinders and ashes. * * * The fort stood on a plateau some eighteen or twenty feet above the present level of the water, a few yards from the bank of the Yellowstone, and about seventy-five feet below the delta of the Rosebud." Dr. Coues admits that in his edition of Lewis and Clark he made the error of stating that Fort Alexander was "at or near" the mouth of the Rosebud, when it should have read Fort Van Buren.

[47]**Fort Cass** was built in the fall of 1832 for the American Fur Company by A. J. Tulloch (Chittenden says "Samuel" Tulloch), and was the first trading post established by the company for the Crow Indian trade. Nathaniel Wyeth, who saw it in 1833, says in his journal that it was situated "about 3 miles below the mouth of the Bighorn * * * on the east (right) bank of the Yellowstone River, is about 130 feet square, made of sapling cottonwood pickets with two bastions at the extreme corners, and was erected in the fall of 1832." It was also known as Tulloch's fort. Its location was probably something over two miles below the mouth of the Bighorn. It was abandoned in 1835. James P. Beckwourth, who states that he was employed to assist in its construction, says that he selected a site "about a mile below" the mouth of the Bighorn. He adds: "The stipulated dimensions were one hundred and twenty yards for each front, the building to be a solid square, with a block-house at opposite corners. The fort was erected of hewn logs planted perpendicularly in the ground; the walls were eighteen feet high.

As soon as the pickets were up, we built our houses inside, in order to be prepared for the approach of winter."

[48]**Fort Laramie** was built in 1834, but was then known as Fort William, from William Sublette, who, with Robert Campbell, his partner, established the post, Campbell having superintended its construction. It stood substantially at the confluence of the Laramie with the North Platte River, being situated about one and one-half miles above the mouth of the Laramie and on its left (north) bank. The work was begun about June 12, 1834. Sublette sold it to Fitzpatrick, Milton Sublette and Bridger in 1835, and the new owners sold out to Fontenelle that year, through whom it became virtually the property of the American Fur Company. Then or soon thereafter it became known as Fort John, for John B. Sarpy. Its early history is involved in obscurity. Dr. F. A. Wislizenus of St. Louis, who in 1839 made an expedition to the mountains, refers to it as being rectangular in shape, 80 by 100 feet, surrounded by a palisade of cottonwood pickets 15 feet high, with flanking towers on three sides and a very strong gate. At that time the name Laramie was becoming prevalent in connection with the post, and finally replaced Fort John, but it was known under the latter name in business transactions of the American Fur Company. Some time before 1846 another post was built about a mile farther up stream, which was christened Fort Laramie. Fort John was probably demolished soon after. About 1849 the American Fur Company sold out to the government and moved down the river some distance. This transaction marked the date of the beginning of the famous military post of Fort Laramie, which for many years stood as a frontier outpost and the great military sentinel at the eastern foot of the Rocky Mountains on the Oregon trail. This point on the Platte was of large importance in the process of settlement of the far west. It was a general stopping place for travelers and emigrants on their way westward, the next station of note being Fort Bridger west of the continental divide and 397 miles beyond Laramie. It was also the junction of the Fort Pierre trail with the Oregon trail, and was thus of much significance in the operations of the American Fur Company and of general travel from the upper Missouri westward.

This location took its name originally from one La Ramie, one of the pioneer Canadian voyageurs or trappers in the beaver trade. The crossing was known as Laramie before any post was built there. The place became a rendezvous for the Ogalalla Sioux in 1835 when known as Fort John. Dr. Coues says: "By 1836 the pickets were rotting, and the American Fur Company replaced the original stockade with an adobe structure, the last traces of which did not disappear until 1862. With the old pickets also went the name Fort John, and Fort Laramie the post was always afterwards. It was held by the American Fur Company until 1849, when it was sold to the United States government, and became a military post in July of that year. * * * How important a place Fort Laramie was in those years, and for long subsequently, may be inferred from the fact that in 1850 wagon trains and other outfits representing an aggregate of 40,000 animals crossed Laramie River below the fort." Dr. Coues also

speaks of having "an unpunblished sketch" of Fort Laramie. A plate of the adobe fort as it was in 1842 faces page 40 of Fremont's Report of his Explorations to the Rocky Mountains, etc., which shows the walls to have been high and substantial, while there were bastions at opposite corners, each two stories with turreted roofs, one bastion being in fact a double one, one on each side of the wall.

In connection with the subject of the Oregon trail, it may not be out of place to state that by far the most comprehensive and complete account of that great overland highway which has come to the notice of the writer of these notes, is found in Colonel Chittenden's "Fur Trade of the Far West," from which work very much of information has been gleaned in preparing said notes. Also, that Francis Parkman sojourned for some time at Fort Laramie while preparing his history of the Oregon trail.

[49]**Alexander Culbertson,** of Scotch-Irish parentage, was born in May, 1809, in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, and died August 27, 1879, at Orleans, Missouri. Reared on a farm, he went to Florida with a kinsman in 1826, and was there during the Indian war. Entering the American Fur Company's service in 1829, he advanced rapidly and was the most important man in the employ of the company when McKenzie and Laidlow retired. He was for many years in charge of Fort Union, and for a time also of Fort John on the Laramie. He completed the later Fort Piegan or McKenzie, and about 1845 he built Fort Lewis on the Missouri, which he rebuilt some seven miles down the river and about ten miles above the mouth of the Marias, and which latter became the famous Fort Benton at the head of navigation. Fort Alexander, the third Crow post, on the Yellowstone near the mouth of the Bighorn and some twenty miles by land above Fort Van Buren, was named for him by Larpenteur, who built it pursuant to his instructions, in 1842. Culbertson was possessed of popular and generous traits and was devoid of the arbitrary characteristics of McKenzie and Laidlow. His wife was a Blackfoot woman who became prominent in the upper Missouri country, and the family of children were "well educated and became responsible business men and women." His career in the fur trade reached its climax after some of the old pioneers had left the stage of action.

[50]See note 48.

[51]**Fort Lewis,** afterwards known as Fort Benton, was built in 1844 by Alexander Culbertson for the American Fur Company, on the right bank of the Missouri River opposite to or near Pablois island, which island Chittenden says is "about 18 miles above where the Fort Benton bridge now crosses the river," he stating that this post was probably built in 1845. It was named for Captain Meriweather Lewis, the explorer, and the occasion of its being built where located was, that Culbertson moved the post of Fort Chardon, which had been built at the mouth of the Judith in the summer or fall of 1843, down to that point. The new post of Fort Lewis was, however, torn down in 1847, it having been abandoned in 1846 on account of its unfavorable location for trade, and a new Fort Lewis was built "in a more favorable location farther down stream and on the

left bank." Accounts differ as to just when the new Fort Lewis came to be known as Fort Benton, the famous post at the head of navigation of the Missouri. The date generally given is 1846, which is the year of its building. But Chittenden says: "The name Lewis was retained for several years. In 1850 the post was rebuilt of adobe and was dedicated amid grand festivities on Christmas day of that year. At the same time it was rechristened by Mr. Culbertson Fort Benton in honor of Thomas Benton, who had so often rescued the company from disaster."

Fort Benton, therefore, became heir to Fort Lewis. Its location may be more accurately indicated, perhaps, by reference to the mouth of the Marias River, which had for so long been the theater of the Blackfoot trade. Fort Benton is about 28 miles above the mouth of the Marias and on the left or north bank of the Missouri, and about seven miles below Fort Lewis. Dr. Coues says of it: "Benton fell heir to all the glories of Union when the latter succumbed to Buford; it became an emporium, the entrepot of the whole northwest. In the winter of 1862-63 about 35 persons lived at Benton. In 1864 it was sold by the American Fur Company to the Northwest company; in October of 1869 it was occupied by United States troops, mainly as an entrepot for Fort Shaw, on Sun River, and Fort Ellis, on the Gallatin near Bozeman, both of which posts started in 1867. Before 1865, the steamboat arrivals had ranged from none to four each summer; there were eight in 1865, and next year the number leaped up to 31," etc. He adds that after military occupation the arrivals fell off heavily from year to year; that the river trade was killed and the importance of Fort Benton began to wane after the St. Paul, Minneapolis & Manitoba branch of the Great Northern was built past that point; and he says of the post as he saw it in October, 1893: "I viewed the crumbling ruins of disused Fort Benton, close to the river bank, about the lower end of the town, which reached a mile up the river. Relics of departed greatness still stood at the water's edge, in the shape of snubbing posts at which the boats used to tie up; but the shriek of the locomotive told another story as the train rattled by the bluffs, a mile and a half back of town." (See Larpenteur, vol. 1, pp. 111, 218; vol. 2, pp. 237-8, 258; Chittenden, vol. 3, pp. 962-3.)

The Fort Benton on the Missouri should not be confounded with the Fort Benton which was built by the Missouri Fur Company under Joshua Pilcher on the Yellowstone at the mouth of the Bighorn, probably in 1822. Chittenden (vol. 1, pp. 150-1) refers to it variously as having been established "in the fall of 1821," and as having been the point of departure of the Jones-Immel party "in the spring of 1823"; while he elsewhere (vol. 3, p. 964), says it was built in 1822 and abandoned the next year. Fort Manuel, or Fort Lisa, had been built at the mouth of the Bighorn in 1807, and Chittenden is not certain whether Fort Benton now in question was built upon the same site.

[52]See note 51.

[53]**Fort Berthold** was located in what is now McLean county, North Dakota, about 125 miles by water above Bismarck and some forty miles

above the mouth of the Big Knife River. It stood on the left or north bank of the Missouri. The Hidatsa Indians moved up there from Knife River, in 1845, the Mandans following soon after. Soon after the Hidatsas went there the American Fur Company, assisted by the Indians, built in 1845 a stockaded post and named it Fort Berthold in honor of a St. Louis gentleman of that name. It was built on the extreme southern edge of a bluff, on land which has since been nearly or entirely carried away by the water. In 1859 an opposition post was erected some little distance east of and farther back from the river than Berthold (the Indian village being, apparently, between the two posts) which was called Fort Atkinson. The Arickarees joined the other Indians there in 1862, in which year the opposition post passed into the hands of the American Fur Company, by whom it was occupied, they transferring to it the name of Fort Berthold, and abandoning the old stockade, which was nearly destroyed on December 24, 1862, by a Sioux war party. Larpenteur relates many incidents of his experiences at this post, but leaves no description of it. Dr. Washington Mathews, who has contributed a valuable note upon these two posts in "Larpenteur," says of the incident last mentioned: "This was a memorable Christmas eve in the annals of Berthold. The Sioux came near capturing the post; but the little citizen garrison defended itself bravely, and at length the Sioux withdrew." He adds: "When I came to Berthold, in the autumn of 1865, there were one or two houses of hewn logs, occupied by Indians, standing close to the edge of the bluff, which, I was told, were the remains of old Fort Berthold. The pictures I have sent you (Dr. Coues) with the name of Fort Berthold attached represent the structure which was originally named Fort Atkinson. Like other posts in the Indian country, it was quadrilateral. Three sides of it were accidentally burned October 12, 1874. At the time of this fire and for some time afterward it was occupied by the United States Indian agency. When the remaining side was abandoned or when it was razed I do not know. Within a year I have heard from there that not a vestige of the old fort or village is left, except such as the archeologist alone might discover." He adds that he thinks the first military occupation of the post was in 1864 under General Sully, and thenceforward until about 1867, when the troops were withdrawn and transferred to Fort Stevenson (about twenty miles below on the same side of the river); that when the troops first moved into Fort Berthold the traders had to move out and build quarters outside for themselves, and that after the troops were withdrawn the traders returned for a short time, then made way for the Indian agency. The note of Dr. Mathews was written shortly before the publication of "Larpenteur," which was published in 1898. Dr. Coues is authority for the statement that the recent status of Berthold "was that of an Indian reservation, agency, mission, etc., where were supplied the temporal and spiritual needs of the once powerful, then decrepit, degenerate, and mongrelized, Mandans, Arickaras, and Hidatsas, who drew their rations regularly while they hung in an uncertain balance of old and new superstitions." The reservation referred to is the so-called Fort Berthold Reservation, or the reservation within which the

Aricaras, Gros Ventres and Mandans were located, some distance above the agency, which reservation has since been reduced to a fraction of its original area. (See Larpenteur, vol. 2, pp. 385-7. For further information, consult Coues' edition of Lewis and Clark [1893], pp. 262, 265.)

[54]**Fort Galpin,** built in 1862 by Larpenteur, and which was in some sense an "opposition" post, may perhaps be appropriately referred to in this connection, though built long after the period mentioned by the writer; as it was named for Charles E. Galpin, mentioned in the text. It stood on the left or north bank of the Missouri, opposite Moose Point, otherwise known as El Paso Point; and while Larpenteur says it was about ten miles above Milk River at "the head of Moose Point," the location is said to be by measurement twelve and one-half miles by channel above Milk River, the large bend of the river having contracted somewhat since that time. In Larpenteur (p. 344) is a map of the vicinity, including the site of Fort Peck, nearly four miles up the river by land, of which latter post Coues says: "Fort Peck was flourishing in 1874, when I was there, but has since been abandoned." Larpenteur, who had been doing business with one Lemon on the upper Missouri and who had sold out to Joseph La Barge and afterwards arranged for division of profits on further business with La Barge, Harkness & Co., again went up the river, reaching Milk River "late in August" (1862), to build this post. He says: "Here I erected a handsome, good little fort," etc. During the winter of 1862-3 Indians threatened to attack the post, but did not do so. In July, 1864, Sioux attacked the post, killing several men, when the post was abandoned.

La Barge, Harkness & Co., whose opposition posts were built about 1862—including Fort Lafromboise in the immediate vicinity of old Fort Pierre—organized in the spring of 1862, the partners being Eugene Jaccard, James Harkness, Joseph La Barge, John La Barge, and William Galpin, each partner supposedly contributing $10,000. They purchased the steamers Shreveport and Emilie, captained respectively by the La Barges, the former boat leaving St. Louis April 30, the latter May 10, 1862; the Emilie landed June 17 at Fort Benton, and the party proceeded to lay the foundations for

Fort La Barge, located one and one-half miles above Fort Benton; and Harkness' diary, June 28, had this entry: "Laid out Fort La Barge, three hundred by two hundred feet. Madam La Barge drove the first stake and my daughter, Margaret, the second." Under date of September 20, 1862, on their way down the river, Harkness makes this entry in his diary concerning Fort Lafromboise: "Found ourselves within one-half mile of our new post, just above Fort Pierre. Staid two hours with Lapamboise (LaFromboise); * * * his house is the best and goods in better order than any," etc. The William Galpin who was a partner in this concern should not be confounded with Charles E. Galpin; the latter built (but for the American Fur Company)

Fort Galpin, which was erected in 1857, or begun and partly completed that year, the occasion being the disposal by the American Fur Company to the government of old Fort Pierre. Fort Galpin stood in the neighbor-

hood of two miles above Fort Pierre on the west bank of the Missouri. Marcel C. Rosseau (now deceased), who came to old Fort Pierre in the fall of 1857 and who was clerk in that establishment for several years, states that they were building the Fort Galpin stockade when he arrived in the fall of that year. La Barge, Harkness & Co. were not in any way connected with this post. The stockade was about 125 feet square, was built similarly to Fort Pierre, but had no bastions. There were buildings forming part of the square, with stockades between, and the front was stockaded, as was about two-thirds of the entire enclosure. Galpin was in charge.

Fort LaFramboise, or Fromboise, was, as is seen, built by La Barge, Harkness & Co. in the summer and fall of 1862. It was located about eight miles above the mouth of Bad River, and, with the exception of Fort Primeau, was the most northerly of the many trading posts which have been erected on the Missouri substantially at Fort Pierre. It stood on higher ground than the posts to the southward, being at the upper end of the stretch of river bottom land extending from Bad River northward to where the bluffs close in on the river. It was built by Francois La Fromboise, who was in charge while the post was occupied. There was no stockade, the buildings forming the substantial enclosure. It is said by one informant: "There was quite a little space in the inclosure, and it had a big gate to it to go in at. In the main building were port holes, on the back side of the building. It didn't stay there long." (See Larpenteur, pp. 340-1, 343, 362-3, 366, etc., as to Fort Galpin, p. 339 as to Fort La Barge and La Fromboise.)

[55]**Fort Campbell**, here referred to, seems to be but imperfectly known to the annals of the fur trade, and its precise location is not clear.

There was a small post known as Fort Campbell, and named for one Thomas Campbell—of whom Dr. Coues remarks that he was "a great character in those parts when I was there in 1874"—located in the outskirts of Fort Benton village and "two squares" from the Grand Union Hotel, as related by that author. And Sublette & Campbell had a post in 1833 "a little below" Lisa's fort above the mouth of Knife River on the Missouri; it is not certain whether it was called Fort Campbell.

[56]This name occurs in some records by mistake. It should read Larpenteur. Some other writers have been similarly misled.

[57]**Fort Alexander**, the third trading post built by the American Fur Company on the Yellowstone, was erected by Larpenteur in 1842 on the left or north bank of the Yellowstone on what was known as Adams' Prairie, and some twenty miles by land above Fort Van Buren (which latter was at the mouth of the Rosebud). It was built immediately after Fort Van Buren had been burned pursuant to instructions from the company, and was named for Alexander Culbertson. Larpenteur received instructions, "the latter part of May," from Culbertson, to proceed from Fort Union to Fort Van Buren to "bring down the returns," and also to construct Fort Alexander, and started the following day; his party were proceeding with the work during the fall, and he says of this

post: "In the meantime the work on Fort Alexander was progressing finely; my men were good hands, determined to put up a well-built little fort, which was very nearly completed by the 15th of November." He then laments the fact that, expecting to be placed in charge of the post, the company placed a Mr. Murray, a Scotchman who had been in charge of Fort Van Buren, in charge, he himself returning to Fort Union, where, being a sober man, he "was wanted mighty bad in the liquor department." Chittenden believes this post was built in 1839, as it was mentioned in the company's license for that year, though recognizing Larpenteur's claim that it was built in 1842. The post was abandoned in 1850. It was not located, as seems to be understood by Chittenden, "opposite the mouth of the Rosebud." Considerable confusion has arisen as to the relative sites of the American Fur Company's posts on the Yellowstone.

[58]**Fort Sarpy,** built by the American Fur Company, and its fourth and last post on the Yellowstone, stood about twenty-five miles below the mouth of the Bighorn and on the south side of the Yellowstone. It took its name from John B. Sarpy, after whose Christian name Fort John on the Laramie was christened. Dr. Coues is in error in placing this post "at the mouth of the Rosebud." It was built in 1850, and is said to have been abandoned "between September, 1859, and September, 1860. It was one hundred feet square, having pickets fifteen feet high, but without flanking arrangements. Dr. Coues says it "lasted" six years.

[59]See note 50.

[60-1]**John B. Sarpy** was born in St. Louis January 12, 1798, and died April 1, 1857. His father was Gregoire Berald Sarpy, reputed to be the first man to attempt to navigate the Missouri with keel boats. After completing his school course he was employed as a clerk in the mercantile house of Berthold & Chouteau, with whom, says Billon, "he continued associated throughout the various changes of the house for the balance of his life." He in time became a partner in the American Fur Company, being second only to Chouteau in that concern. Fort John on the Laramie, and Fort Sarpy on the Yellowstone, were named after him. (And see note 58.)

[60]**General Charles Gratiot,** the eldest son of Charles Gratiot, Sr., was born in St. Louis August 29, 1786. In 1804 he was appointed to the military academy at West Point, from which he graduated in 1806, and was assigned to the corps of engineers as second lieutenant in October, 1806. In 1808 he was promoted to a captaincy; in February, 1815, was made major; lieutenant colonel in March, 1819; colonel and engineer in chief in May, 1828. He served throughout the war of 1812-15 on the western frontier. He built Fort Gratiot at the foot of Lake Huron, planned and superintended the construction of Fortress Monroe, where he was stationed many years, and was retired from the army in December, 1838. He died in Washington City, May 18, 1855. (See Billon's St. Louis, pp. 172-3.)

[61]**Basile Clement** (Claymore), who was then in the employ of the American Fur Company and had been since 1840, at old Fort Pierre, states that he went from that post with Major Wessler (Wessells) to meet General Harney on the White River. He says: "We came back with Harney's troops to Fort Pierre; and he had about 1,600, and Wessler went with about 700 to meet him. He came up on a steamboat from below, while Harney was up the Platte, and went from Fort Pierre to meet him. He had the Second Infantry. Harney wintered at Fort Pierre. He had the Sixth Infantry and Second Cavalry. Major Howard commanded the cavalry, and Colonel Montgomery commanded the infantry."

[62]**Major Wessell's** winter quarters above Fort Pierre were on what is known as Peoria Bottom, substantially opposite the point where Fort La Fromboise was situated. Another detachment of Harney's troops wintered at the upper end of Peoria Bottom, opposite, or just below, a point opposite to the mouth of Chantier Creek, and in the immediate vicinity of what was known as the "Navy Yard" of the American Fur Company. The "Navy Yard" was so called from the fact that the timber for outfitting certain river craft, and for general repairs, etc., in connection with the company's business at Fort Pierre was cut and worked up at the mouth of Chantier Creek. The American Fur Company during the winter here in question, and while Harney had possession of Fort Pierre, had a temporary headquarters on Peoria Bottom about half way between the upper and lower winter quarters of Harney's troops as above stated. Some of the little log structures in which some of Harney's subordinate officers wintered at that time are still in existence though badly dilapidated, and they are situated within eighty rods or so of the Oahe Mission establishment and a little west from south of the mission, and a short distance from the river bank. The mission is about three-fourths of the way up towards the end of Peoria Bottom, and about seventeen miles above Pierre. The "Navy Yard" was about eighteen miles by water above Fort Pierre, the location being at the west end of the peninsula formed by the wide sweep of the Missouri southwestward from Okobojo island and its eastward bend below the mouth of Chantier Creek.

[63]At or below what was known as Brock's Bottom.

[63-1]**Charles E. Galpin,** familiarly known as "Major" Galpin, was, for many years connected with the fur and Indian trade on the upper Missouri. He was in charge of old Fort Pierre when it was sold to the United States, and, as stated by the author, figured prominently in the negotiations leading up to the sale of the establishment, some of his correspondence with the government being very interesting as well as suggestive of resources in placing the property in a favorable light. Dr. Mathews, who furnishes a brief account of him in a note to Larpenteur's "Forty Years a Fur Trader," thus speaks of him: "He was called 'Major' Galpin, but I never knew why. Perhaps he was once an Indian agent—all Indian agents were dubbed major in those days; perhaps he had belonged to a militia regiment; but most likely the title was a sort of 'Kentucky brevet.' I have heard that when he was well on in his cups, he

used to introduce himself to the whole world as 'Major Galpin of Dakota, a gentleman of the old school.' He came into the Dakota country in 1839. I met him twice; once at Fort Berthold, in 1865, when he was in the Indian trade, and once at Fort Rice, in 1868, when he kept a sutler store and did some Indian trade. From Fort Rice he went to one of the then newly established agencies—Grand River, I think—where he died about 1870. He was a tall, fine looking man of good presence and had evidently had good early advantages. He was married to a mixed blood Sioux woman, sister of Charles Picotte, of unusually fine character, and by her had several children, all of whom, I think, are dead. In Dr. F. V. Hayden's 'Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley,' in Trans. Amer. Philos. Soc., there is a picture of her (fig. 4), with one of her children on her knee, and a flattering notice of her on p. 457." A small trading post built by Larpenteur for the American Fur Company near the mouth of Milk River in 1862 was named for him. Fort Galpin, another post of that name, was built by Galpin soon after old Fort Pierre was sold to the government. It was situated about two miles north of the site of old Fort Pierre, and was begun in 1857, as the stockade was being built for it when Marcel C. Rosseau, who came there that fall, arrived and who became bookkeeper for the American Fur Company until about 1860. This Fort Galpin was built for the American Fur Company. It was about 125 feet square, and was built similarly to Fort Pierre, but had no bastions. There were various buildings forming part of the enclosure, with a stockade extending between them, and the front was stockaded. The stockade proper constituted about two-thirds of the entire enclosure. The precise date of its abandonment is not clear, but the new Fort Pierre superseded Fort Galpin; and Galpin was in charge of the various posts at Fort Pierre used by the American Fur Company from the time of the erection of Fort Galpin until the company went out of business at that point. And he assisted in hauling timber from old Fort Pierre with which to construct a store on the east side of the river near the original Fort Sully at Farm Island, about 1865.

[64]**Fort Randall** was abandoned July 22, 1884.

[65]That is, the west bank, as indicated by the author's supposed attitude of ascending the river.

[66]**Fort La Fromboise,** in the Fort Pierre group, and known in the sixties, was situated at the extreme upper end of the bottom above old Fort Pierre and eight miles or a little more above the mouth of Bad River, opposite Lost Island, and on considerably higher ground than the bottom on which the lower posts were located. It was built for La Barge, Harkness & Co. in the spring of 1862, though it may have been commenced somewhat earlier. (See note 54 on La Barge, Harkness & Co.) It was not long used by the firm for whom it was built, but it stood there for a number of years after it was abandoned by them; and as shown in the article to which this note is appended, it was occupied by some of General Sully's troops later on. Francois LaFromboise, a nephew of old Joseph LaFromboise, built and was in charge of it. It does not seem at all cer-

tain that any post in the immediate neighborhood of old Fort Pierre and known as Fort LaFromboise existed in 1857 or 1858, as is supposed by Major Wilson; while it is possible that, as Frank LaFromboise was in that neighborhood in those years, the Galpin post might have been called after LaFromboise by some persons, though this is merely a surmise.

This Fort LaFromboise had no regular stockade as an enclosure, but the post buildings constituted substantially the enclosure. Ronald Rosseau, who was employed by the American Fur Company for several years at Fort Pierre, says of Fort LaFromboise: "There was quite a little space in the inclosure, and it had a big gate to it to go in at. In the main building was port holes, on the back side of the building. It didn't stay there long. LaFramboise was in charge."

This post is thus referred to in Dr. Coues' note to "Larpenteur," page 339, by way of quotation from Mr. Harkness' diary of the up-river trip of his company in 1862, and after stating that this post was made on that trip:- "Found ourselves within one-half mile of our new post, just above Fort Pierre. Staid two hours with Lapambois (LaFramboise; * * * his house is the best and goods in better order than any." This notation by Harkness was made on the down-trip and after his company had been up to a point "a mile and a half above Fort Benton" and built a Fort La Barge at that point that year (1862); and the Fort Pierre memorandum in question was made September 20 of that year.

As to Joseph LaFromboise having established a Fort LaFramboise at or about the site in question in 1857 or 1858, as Major Wilson indicates, there is no other authority at hand by which the statement can be verified, yet such a thing is possible in the maze of posts, large and small, at various times located above Teton River on the Missouri.

The Fort LaFromboise the subject of this note will of course be kept in mind as distinguished from the old Fort LaFromboise which was the original trading post at the mouth of the Teton and built by Joseph LaFromboise in 1817.

[67]**Fort Randall** is 150 miles or more below Fort Pierre.

[68]**Bear's Rib** was killed in June, 1862, just outside of the new Fort Pierre post, situated about one and seven-eighths miles above the original Fort Pierre. Joseph Wandel, an old squaw man, gave to the writer of this note the following characteristic narrative of the killing of Bear's Rib, as the facts were recounted to him by David Gallineaux, another early settler in the vicinity of Fort Pierre; Mr. Wandel being at the time of making this statement on the bottom south of the present city of Fort Pierre, October 14, 1901:

After stating that Gallineaux came up to the American Fur Company's sub-post at the mouth of Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne River, where Wandel and others were in charge, he proceeds: "He says, 'We had the worst thing that ever happened at Fort Pierre; they killed all the cattle at Fort Pierre and we had to go to Sioux City to get cattle to take buffalo robes down.' I says, 'What's been the matter?' He says, 'All the hostile Indians come on and they killed Bear Ribs,' that was the

head chief of all the Indians. He said the way it happened, there was Bear Rib and all his tribe, the Two Kettle band and the Minnekonjos was down here on the Bad River killing buffalo, and a party come into Fort Pierre from the hostile camp and reported that they was coming in on purpose to kill Bear Rib. One of the Indians of the Two Kettle band was at the fort when the hostiles come in, and he reported to Bear Rib that they had come in to kill him. Bear Rib just laughed at him at the time, and said that he didn't think they was brave enough. Then he says, 'I am going up to see them,' and Bear Rib had a mule and he and his son and a head man said, 'We better go with you.' He says, 'No, they ain't brave enough to kill me, I'll go alone.' He went up and went in and tied his mule right above their camp to a post there, and then he went in to Mr. Primeau; and Primeau had a family, and as quick as Bear Rib come in Primeau told his wife to give him some coffee and bread. He refused it; he says, 'No,' he had bad news and wouldn't eat anything. While he was talking about the bad news there was a shot fired, and after that shot was fired a fellow at the camp come in and told Bear Rib that they had shot his mule. Then Bear Rib says, 'I'll go out and see,' and he carried a double-barreled shotgun, and he went out and didn't see anybody standing around, they was all in their tepees, and the closest tepee to him was about thirty steps. Then he looked at his mule and he says, 'This is three times that you done such tricks to me,' and he says, 'This is the third time that such a thing has happened, they done that before;' he says, 'This is the third time,' and a fellow in the next tepee just fired at him at that time before he had it all said out. But as quick as that shot went out Bear Rib put up his gun and fired and shot and killed the same one. And Bear Rib was going to kill another one, but the bullet" (meaning the one striking Bear's Rib) "went through the forearm and through the heart on the left side; and the other fellow" (meaning the one first shot at by Bear's Rib) "fell dead; but while he couldn't take good aim he shot again and shot one and wounded him—he fired two shots and then he fell. After he fell all the Indians rushed, and the gate was opened—they rushed right into that fort, women and children, and everything they could take hold of, only the buffalo robes outside. After they all was in they closed the gate and the fort was crowded with Indians and every house and piece of ground was full of hostile Indians. While this happened one of Bear Rib's party was at the fort, he run down here" (pointing up Bad River bottom) "to Bear Rib's camp here on Bad River and said, 'Bear Rib is killed, the hostiles killed him.' It was Mouse that got shot and wounded, that killed him. Then in about fifteen minutes afterwards every Indian had throwed blankets and robes and leggins and stockings and everything away, and all naked and went into the creek and put mud all over their hair, and took their horses, and got on their horses and went up to Fort Pierre, but it was closed, the gate was closed by the hostiles inside. White men in there was scared to death. Those Indians down here was friendly Indians, and they went up to the gate and knocked on the gate, and said, 'Open that gate,' No answer, and they hollered again, 'Open that gate,' but no an-

swer, and they couldn't knock the gate through, it was so solid. Well, them Indians laid around there behind wood piles and called for Primeau to open the gate, but he dasn't do it. They wouldn't open the gate, although the outside people called them cowards and everything else. Primeau was afraid they would burn it up, he says to the chiefs, 'The best thing for you to do is to make it up with them; there's only one man killed on either side, and pay for it, and pay big.' Finally they agreed right away with Primeau, that they would pay for Bear Rib. But before this happened the outside party killed every dog and every horse outside. There was an old squaw had a travois and a mule in front of it; she run up towards the hills, and they headed her off and found that there was a man sitting in there, and it was old Yellow Hawk knocked the mule down and shot the man that was riding with the woman—it was Mouse —and he shot him right through the head; and his carcass laid there for years afterwards, and the mule bones. I passed there years afterwards and see the bones. Primeau made a speech to the rest of them in there, and they agreed to pay Bear Rib's son in horses for his father. And only for old man Primeau there would have been no bargain made. He done the best he could to get them to make a bargain; it was dangerous for him. The fellows on the outside could have cleaned them out; they had guns and everything. They give this hostile party just so much time to go away and skip, and they run as fast as they could, and Primeau kept them quiet, so they (meaning the Bear's Rib band) wouldn't follow them right away. But they followed them two hours afterwards, and they never stopped to camp anywhere for three days afterwards, they was so scared at the party behind them."

Louis LaPlant and Basile Clement (Claymore) were present and standing near Bear's Rib when he was shot, LaPlant catching him as he fell. When shot he stood some twenty feet south of the southeast bastion corner of the post, where LaPlant and others were cooking coffee at a campfire. The body was buried near the post and by the authorities of the post and numerous friendly Indians. Claymore says of Bear's Rib's killing: "Jealousy caused it. Bear Rib had so much influence with the whites that they were jealous of him." It is not at all improbable that the fact that General Harney recognized Bear's Rib as the head chief of the Sioux in the negotiations which had recently gone on, also had something to do with the hostility of those of the Indians who stood out against the government, towards him. Claymore states that the Indians who killed Bear's Rib were Ousta, or One-That-Limps, and Tonkalla, or Mouse.

[69]This is an error. Fort LaFramboise was some three miles up the river from the new Fort Pierre, at which latter post the killing of Bear's Rib undoubtedly occurred. Fort LaFramboise was built in 1862 for La Barge, Harkness & Company, and it was Francois or Frank LaFramboise who was in charge of it during its existence. It will be seen that the description here given by the author of what he designates as Fort La Framboise, substantially describes the new Fort Pierre, and the fact that Major Wilson states that this post "soon became known as Fort Pierre,

though it was a most unworthy and insignificant successor to the original," indicates that the post of which he speaks was in fact the successor to the old one. The author is likewise in error wherein he states that "the island in the river opposite old Fort Pierre is known to this day as LaFramboise Island;" as LaFramboise Island is more than three miles below the site of old Fort Pierre and is situated between the cities of Fort Pierre and Pierre, or rather, it is substantially opposite Pierre, while the upper end of it is below the mouth of Teton or Bad River, the sandbar, however, extending for over a mile up the river above the wooded part of the island or the island proper. This island has always been known in the government records and maps as LaFramboise Island, but is also known as Rivers Island, from one Joseph Rivers, a squaw-man who resided upon it for some years prior to the opening of the ceded portion of the Sioux reservation in 1890, and it is now known also as Goddard's Island, from Paul R. Goddard, who made homestead entry for a portion of it. Major Wilson is correct, however, in placing Fort La Framboise opposite the island known as Lost Island, but that island is over two miles above the site of the new Fort Pierre post.

The series of islands in the Missouri River in the vicinity of Pierre and Fort Pierre cities is as follows, reckoning from the lower river up-stream: Farm Island, whose upper end is about four and one-half miles below the mouth of Bad River; LaFramboise Island (described above); Marion Island, whose lower end is about one-fourth of a mile above the mouth of Bad River, and whose upper end is about one and one-half miles farther up-stream and a little above a point opposite the boat landing and stockyards at Pierre; Willow Island, whose lower end is almost coincident with the upper end of Marion Island, and which is about one mile long; and the next considerable island is Lost Island, whose lower end is about four miles above Willow Island, and is situated at the point where the Missouri turns south after running east by Peoria Bottom, and is about one mile in length. There are several sandbars which are to some extent covered by willows, etc., between Willow and Lost islands.

[70]See note 69.

[70-1]**The Second or New Fort Pierre** was situated one and seven-eighths miles above (north) of the old Fort Pierre, and some twenty rods or so south of the southern end of the so-called Seven-Mile Timber, and opposite the lower end of an island at that point in the Missouri River. The stockade foundations are still plainly visible, as are also various excavations inside of the stockade lines, and which are evidently foundations of buildings, or cellars, etc. The stockade was about 125 feet long on each of the four sides, and there were bastions at the northwest and southeast corners, precisely the same as in the old Fort Pierre, after which the new post was, by all authorities, modeled, though much smaller in extent. The front gate (on the east side) was not far from the southeast corner, there being one building between the bastion at that corner and the gate. It was built in 1859, but some work was probably done upon it the previous year. The post described by Major Wilson in the article to which this note is appended, where he mentions the killing of Bear's

Rib, and which he says had long been known as Fort LaFramboise, was really none other than this new Fort Pierre; Fort LaFramboise being in fact located some three miles farther up the river than the new Fort Pierre, and that post had no stockade and no bastions, while the description given by Major Wilson of the post which he calls Fort La Framboise fits the case of the new Fort Pierre precisely. It is not certain as to where the timber which went into the new Fort Pierre came from, but there is little doubt that before it was completed some of its material was taken from the old post. Joseph Wandel, who was at that time employed by the American Fur Company, or at least by some one connected with that company, states: "After the soldiers went away (meaning Harney's troops) we took that fort down and built it just the same as it was built below; it was up by the Seven-Mile Timber, just the lower end, and just opposite the lower end of the timber, and about 300 yards from the river. We had to cut the brush away from the end of the timber, because the Indians would lay there and kill people. They did that several times, the Rees and Gros Ventres." He adds: "The second Fort Pierre stood there all the time till the steamboat people took the houses, and nobody knows how it was burned up. Nobody could tell who took it, but the steamboats took it. A good many things was taken by people who freighted up things for the soldiers. They took what they wanted." Clement (Claymore) says: "They built the new Fort Pierre above Fort Pierre at the foot of the island. Chas. Galpin was in charge of old Fort Pierre when it was sold to the government, and of the new post, and staid in charge till the company quit business." Now, this last point is in some doubt; for Wandel, who was employed there, says: "I worked under two bosses, Galpin and Primeau. Primeau was in charge when the fort (meaning old Fort Pierre) was given up. He left Big Martin in charge of Fort Pierre and he (Primeau) went down below to St. Louis, and he wouldn't work for the company for higher wages, and Chouteau offered him more money, but he wouldn't come up; it was very dangerous and the Indians, even the Sioux, fired into the fort. The fort was built just like old Fort Pierre, and it was taken up there." This indicates that Wandel refers to the new post as the one from which Primeau departed to go to St. Loius; and his circumstantial account of the killing of Bear's Rib while Primeau was in charge of the new Fort Pierre (in 1862) seems to make it reasonably certain that he was in charge of that post for some time; but it is almost certain that Galpin was in charge of the old post when it was turned over to the government, as he certainly was during the negotiations leading up to its sale. Some of the material of the new post was used in erecting a temporary trading store on the east side of the river close to the site of the original Fort Sully, or as it was called in some of the military reports, Farm Island Camp. Joseph Wandel, who assisted in moving the American Fur Company's property across the river into the store buildings above mentioned, says "That was the year they built old Fort Sully (1863). It was after July that Sully come in from above, and commenced building. They had a fight at White Lake; he come from there. They built the fort and

wanted the soldiers to stay there. The American Fur Company wanted protection, and General Sully wouldn't give them protection unless they moved their things to the fort, and we moved the things down there. We made rafts and boats out of planks that we had, and put the sugar and coffee in them, and things that we could lift, and there was thousands of dollars' worth of things we couldn't lift. Then we moved down here (meaning to Farm Island), and put up a few houses a mile this side (west) of Fort Sully—just a mile this side of Fort Sully."

[71]**Joseph LaBarge**—See note on LaBarge, Harkness & Co.

[72]Fort Thompson was abandoned as a military post June 4, 1867.

[72-1]Yanktonais.

[73]It is 285½ miles by water, but it is difficult to see how the land route would be greater than 250 miles between those points, unless a circuitous course was pursued.

[74]See note on Fort LaFramboise. It is not clear how the post here described comes to be referred to as Fort LaFramboise, as that post was undoubtedly built on the higher ground to the northward of the long bottom above Bad River; it certainly was not "in the midst of a plain," as here described. It is suggested that the post built by Galpin in 1857 and 1858, and which stood on the bottom or "plain," and which was next in order above the new Fort Pierre, may be the post here described, and that it may have become known as Fort LaFramboise at the time of Sully's occupancy of it. This must be substantially the case, or else Major Wilson is at fault in referring to the post which was General Sully's headquarters as being "in the midst of a plain." The lower end of Lost Island (opposite which stood Fort LaFramboise) is not less than five miles above the site of old Fort Pierre post, yet Major Wilson here refers to that site as being "three miles below." If his headquarters were only three miles above the site of old Fort Pierre, he was stationed nearer the Galpin post than the site of Fort LaFramboise. Again, the site of Fort LaFramboise as indicated on the map of the Missouri River survey is readily seen to be on the higher ground at the curve of the Missouri at the lower end of Peoria Bottom; it is not in the "plain" or general bottom land of the immediate Fort Pierre neighborhood. Here is a difficulty which it is not easy to clear up, and as the date is at the period when all of the old posts in that vicinity were on their "last legs," so to speak, the difficulty is the greater for that reason. The new Fort Pierre was being demolished at that time, and at least part of its materials were being converted into the trading stores erected by the American Fur Company near old Fort Sully.

[75]See note 76.

[76]**Old Fort Sully** stood about forty rods above the head of Farm Island, some eighty rods north of the bank of the Missouri, four and one-half miles southeast from the railroad station in Pierre, and something over one-half mile above the mouth of Dry Run. Its site is about one mile

below the Indian Industrial School at East Pierre. It was about fifteen miles above the site of Fort George and seven and one-half miles below old Fort Pierre. Probably Sergeant Dripps is correct in stating the dimensions of the inside barracks enclosure to have been 270 feet square, but a very recent examination of the site by the writer in company with Dr. DeLorme Robinson (October 14, 1902) warrants the statement that the outside stockade or picket line is fifty feet outside of the inner square where were the barracks, officers' quarters, etc., and the inner square is certainly 270 feet or more in length on each side. The location of the flagstaff in the center of the barracks square is still very plainly to be seen. The sutler's stand was located some twenty or twenty-five rods south of the outside picket line.

The war department records seem to indicate that this post was "established" in November, 1863. That the construction of it was the work of the garrison, "and was not completed until the fall of 1864." This last statement is contained in a recent letter from Major Wilson to the writer of this note, in which he further states that the post was capable of accommodating four companies, and he adds: "The site having become unhealthy and otherwise undesirable, it was decided to abandon it, and a new site was selected about 30 miles below (above) the location of the old site, between the Wakabonjon (Okobojo) and Cheyenne Islands. The fort was evacuated July 25, 1866, and a new fort established the same day, the old name being retained. The occupation of Fort Sully was continuous from its establishment until it was discontinued." The island near which the old post was located is also called New Farm Island in the government records.

Fort Sully, the successor to the old post, was, therefore, established July 25, 1866. We will again quote from Major Wilson's said letter his description of the new post and the military reservation upon which it stood:

"The original reservation comprises 42 square miles or about 27,275 acres. The buildings, which were intended for 4 infantry companies and band, consisted of 5 one story barracks, two being 116x24 feet, with kitchen L 70x20 feet, and three being 120x17 feet with kitchen L 70x20 feet. There were three sets of quarters for field officers, two sets for captains and four buildings for quarters for subaltern officers; hospital, six storehouses, quarters for non-commissioned staff and laundresses, guard house and engine house, bakery, stables, corral, gallery for rifle practice, ice house, chapel, library and reading room and workshops. The buildings were mainly constructed of wood with shingle roofs. The cemetery had an area of 100 by 140 feet, and was located about 300 yards east of the post. A canteen was located in an old building on the line of the barracks, but there is no record of any buildings having been used by the post trader. The post was abandoned on November 14, 1894." The new Fort Sully stood about twenty-five miles above Pierre on the east bank of the Missouri, and eighteen or twenty miles below the mouth of the Cheyenne. It was situated on a high bluff some 160 feet above the water, and on the third level or rise from the river, and some three-

fourths of a mile from the water's edge. The Fort Sully Military Reservation, within which the post was located, extended about twelve miles along the east side of the river. The post inclosure was of much larger area than that of old Fort Sully, but we have not at hand the exact dimensions.

[77]See note 68 on the new Fort Pierre.

ADDENDA

Although the posts described below are not mentioned in Major Wilson's text, it has been deemed wise, owing to their pertinence to the subject, to catalogue them here.

[78]**Trudeau's House,** constituting the oldest known trading post on the upper Missouri, is said by Chittenden to have stood on the east bank of the Missouri "a little above and opposite the site where Fort Randall later stood," and the post was also known as the Pawnee House. It was occupied in the years 1796-7 by one Trudeau.

[79]**Loiselle's Post** is said to have been the first trading post built in the Sioux country on the Missouri River, and was the oldest of the posts which were known as Cedar Fort, or Fort au Cedres, whose history is somewhat confused, but which were located on two islands, each of which was called Cedar Island, in the Missouri. Loiselle was in possession of the post in 1803-4. "The post was 65 to 70 feet square, with the usual bastions. The pickets were about 14 feet high. There was a building inside 45x32 feet divided into four equal rooms. This was probably the real Fort au Cedres, which is so known in the narratives of the times," says Chittenden. He adds: "Several authorities speak of it as an old Missouri Fur Company trading post, but if so it was possibly the one which burned in the spring of 1810, for no such post is mentioned by Bradbury or Brackenridge in 1811, or by Leavenworth in 1823." However, Brackenridge (in his "Views of Louisiana," page 139), says: "A trader of the name of L'Oiselle had a fort at Cedar Island, in the country of the Sioux, about twelve hundred miles up" (from St. Louis), "which was then the highest point at which any establishments had been made."

[80]**Old Fort LaFromboise**—The original trading post at the mouth of the Teton, or Little Missouri, as it was misnamed for many years, now called Bad River, was built by Joseph LaFromboise, a mixed blood French Ottawa, who, after having left school at the age of fifteen, came to Prairie du Chien on the Mississippi, thence to the Missouri River, where, late in the fall of 1817, he built a trading post at the mouth of the Teton. He had secured a trading license from the government in 1816 to trade on the headwaters of the Minnesota River. This trading post was built of dead logs which LaFromboise found in the river. In the fourth annual report of the Bureau of Ethnology, on page 109, is found a copy of a translation of Lone Dog's "Winter Counts"—meaning substantially the

yearly record kept by that Indian, who was a Yanktonais living, in 1876, near Fort Peck, Montana—under the date of 1817-18, viz: "La Framboise, a Canadian, built a trading store with dry timber. The dryness is shown by the dead tree. Le-Framboise was an old trader among the Dakotas. He once established himself in the Minnesota valley. His name is mentioned by various travelers." On the same page is found the following copy of the account of the Indian The-Flame, who was born about 1825 and lived in 1877 at Peoria Bottom, viz: 1817-18: "Trading store built at Fort Pierre." LaFromboise remained at the mouth of the Teton for two years at least, and perhaps until about 1821, when he returned to Prairie du Chien. A son of said Joseph LaFromboise, also named Joseph and now residing at Veblin, S. D., states that a man from St. Louis came up in 1819 and relieved his father at the trading post. La Fromboise, Sr., went back and traded on the Big Sioux until about 1823. The son is 73 years old and was born in southern Minnesota on the Des Moines River. His father, who built Fort LaFromboise, is said to have married the daughter of a prominent Indian chief, Walking Day, a brother of the celebrated chief Sleepy Eye of the Wahpetons, at what is now Flandreau, S. D., where he was living in 1823. He probably left the mouth of the Teton shortly before the Columbia Fur Company built Fort Tecumseh a short distance above.

[81]**Fort Brasseaux,** or "Brasseaux's Houses," was an establishment at or in the immediate vicinity of the mouth of White River in South Dakota. Chittenden refers to it as being situated in the vicinity of, "or possibly ten or twenty miles above," Fort Recovery (a mile or so below the site of Chamberlain, S. D.), but he does not profess to have had definite information, his reference to it being in connection with "a letter by General Ashley dated at this post July 19, 1823, written to Major O'Fallon, Indian agent, in regard to the Aricara campaign then in progress." It was probably some ten miles south of Fort Recovery.

[82]**Teton Post,** or Fort Teton, was the name by which the trading post of P. D. Papin & Company, otherwise known as the French Fur Company, was designated. It was built about 1828. It stood immediately south of the mouth of the Teton or Bad River, and some two miles below Fort Tecumseh. The concern by whom it was built were Papin, the Cerre brothers and Honore Picotte, the latter being the Picotte who for years was in charge of old Fort Pierre. The size and precise character of this post is not known. Its location, however, is believed to be indicated by certain evidences of old earthworks, which are still visible, at a point not more than two hundred feet from the south side of Bad River and within, say, three hundred feet of its mouth. It must be borne in mind that the mouth of Bad River is now at least 150 yards further west than when the post in question was erected, as it is known that within the last twenty years the western shore line of the Missouri at that point has been worn away for some twenty rods or thereabouts. There is what seems to be a large natural bank of earth which has at some time been raised by the eddying of the water during some ancient flood or floods,

in the stretch of bottom land south of Bad River and between it and the high bluffs some fifty rods south; this bank being some five or six feet above the general level of said bottom, and extending from very near the south bank of Bad River for thirty rods or more towards the point of the bluff where the latter ends on the Missouri River bank, and this raised ground widens towards the south; but at the north end it is only some fifty feet in width. Upon this high ground can yet be seen indications of several foundations of former structures, commencing near Bad River as stated and extending southward; and this is probably the substantial site of old Fort Teton. When the firm of P. D. Papin & Company sold out to the American Fur Company (see on this point the note on the American Fur Company), the property was immediately moved up to Fort Tecumseh, and Teton post was doubtless demolished at or soon after that time.

But there is some apparently substantial evidence that this post stood just north of the mouth of the Teton. We have relied upon Chittenden's statement that it was below the mouth of that stream, in making the foregoing statement. However, Dr. Coues in his note to Larpenteur (page 181) thus refers to both Fort Tecumseh and Fort Teton: "I may mention here that alongside old Fort Pierre (the first one, 3 miles above Teton River), there was once a post called Fort Tecumseh, which had been abandoned and was in ruins in 1833: Maximilian, ed. of 1843, p. 155, where is also named a Fort Teton of the French Fur Company, a little above Teton River, abandoned when the companies joined and old Fort Pierre was built." The "French Fur Company" was, as above noted, the same as Papin & Co. and is the same concern mentioned by Chittenden as having its post just below the mouth of the Teton.

Basile Clement (Claymore), who came to Fort Pierre in 1840, also states that Fort Teton was "right by the mouth of Bad River where Fort Pierre City is. There was an old graveyard on the site of Fort Pierre, right by where the Fort Pierre House is. The site of Fort Teton was 300 or 400 yards below the graveyard on the bottom, nearer the Missouri River. The bottom was wide, large there at that time. I saw where old Fort Teton was, and the graveyard." This statement was made September 10, 1899, when the so-called Fort Pierre Hotel was yet intact (it has since been destroyed by fire); and it stood at the northeast corner of Main and Deadwood streets in Fort Pierre, and some fifteen or eighteen rods back from the bank of the Missouri; but a large area of the bottom at that point has been washed away during the last fifteen years, and considerably more must have disappeared during the preceding period and after 1833. The undeniable fact is, however, that Fort Teton stood very close to the Teton River, whether on the south or north side of it.

[83]**Sublette & Campbell's** "Opposition" post at Fort Pierre was built October 17, 1833, "a little below Fort Tecumseh," and is supposed to have stood between Fort Tecumseh and the mouth of the Teton and above that stream. It is possible, however, that its location was immediately south of the mouth of the Teton, in which event the actual location of Fort Teton was probably just north instead of south (as is pre-

sumed to be the fact) of that river. The post of Sublette & Campbell was occupied only about one year, when it was sold to the American Fur Company. (See Chittenden, page 956.)

[84]**Forks of the Cheyenne**—In the early thirties the American Fur Company established a post, or "winter quarters" for the Indian trade at the forks of the Cheyenne River east of the Black Hills. This post was in charge of various persons, among others Chadron, after whom Chadron, Neb., was named. Basile Clement (Claymore), who returned from his famous and extensive mountain trip in 1843, and who states that he wintered at the trading quarters of the company the following winter at the mouth of Swan Lake (in what is now Walworth county, South Dakota), further states that he thereafter wintered twice at the forks of the Cheyenne post, and that Joseph Jouett, Joseph Picotte (a nephew of Honore Picotte, who was for many years in charge of old Fort Pierre), Frederick LaBoue and Leon Cornea were in charge of that post at various times. The company also had a post at the mouth of Cherry Creek on the Cheyenne and one farther up the Cheyenne where Pedro is now located. Claymore was also in charge of the company's post on the Moreau River one winter in 1854-5, under Chas. Galpin, and also wintered at the Cherry Creek post (which he says was two miles up that creek) with Frank LaFromboise, who was in charge; this was after the government had placed old Fort Pierre in the custody of William Frost and others and the Indian trade was temporarily revived. The post on the Moreau was near its mouth, but it was probably a short distance up the Missouri from the Moreau. Another post was at Thunder Butte, with old Parquet in charge. The company also had a post at the mouth of the Cheyenne, and one and probably two on White River, and one up Bad River—in fact, wherever the Indians desired to have a trading post established as a branch of the main post, for winter's trade, there was sent an outfit for the purpose, and all of the branches of the Missouri were represented by these sub-posts, from time to time as the business seemed to demand it. There were several along the James River. The list cannot well be exhausted, as some of the so-called posts were of very brief duration and of little importance.

[85]**Vermillion Post** was located on the east bank of the Missouri and about ten miles below the mouth of the Vermillion River and fifteen miles above Elk Point. It stood in the Vermillion Prairie nearly on the line between Clay and Union counties, South Dakota, and on the Kate Sweeny Bend, opposite Ionia, Neb. Audubon, who visited the post May 16, 1843, thus speaks of it: "Then we came to the establishment called Vermillion River, and met Mr. Cerre, usually called Pascal, the agent of the company (American Fur Company) at this post, a handsome French gentleman, of good manners. He dined with us. After this we landed, and walked to the fort, if the place may be so called, for we found it only a square, strongly picketed, without port holes. It stands on the immediate bank of the river, opposite a long narrow island, and is backed by a vast prairie, all of which was inundated during the spring freshet."

The great cut-off of the river in 1881 has so changed the relations of the stream to the original bank and channel at or about this point, that the precise location of the old post is less easily ascertainable than formerly.

There was also a trading post known as Vermillion Fort, and also as Dickson's Post, which belonged to the American Fur Company and which stood some ten miles above Vermillion River, or about half way from the Vermillion to the James, and at or near Audubon Point, and directly opposite the mouth of Petit Arc or Little Bow Creek, in Clay county, South Dakota, and about two miles south-southeast of the point where the line between that and Yankton county strikes the Missouri. This post was established as early as 1835, and probably prior to that year. William Dickson was in charge of it in 1835, and afterwards Theophile Bruguire. The fact that such a post was there located is attested by Bruguire, Joseph Leonnais or Lyonnais, and Letillier, and their families of Sioux City, and by kinsmen of William Dickson.

The lower of the two Vermillion posts was an important post for the Indian trade with the lower Sioux tribes.

The Columbia Fur Company also had a post at the point where the upper Vermillion Post, or Dickson's Post, was located.

[86]There were several trading posts at and near the mouth of the Niobrara, variously known also as Rapid River, Running Water or L'eau qui Court, the best known of which is Fort Mitchell, established in 1833 and abandoned in 1837, and named for D. D. Mitchell, which stood immediately at the mouth of that stream "on the bluff point of the left bank." One Narcisse Le Clerc, "an irregular trader who had done well enough in the American Fur Company to set up for himself, built a small post just above, on the other side, in 1840 or earlier; this had been abandoned May 21, 1843, when Audubon passed," says Chittenden, who quotes the following from Audubon's journal of the above date: "We stopped to wood at a very propitious place, for it was no less than the fort put up some years ago by Monsieur Le Clerc. Finding no one at the spot, we set to work cutting the pickets off his fortifications till we were loaded with the very best of dry wood." Larpenteur, who had been in charge of this post, and also for several years of Vermillion Post (which one of the two known by that name he does not say, but probably the lower one), states that the Sarpy Post, at the mouth of the Running Water, which was built by or for Peter H. Sarpy, for the Ponca Indian trade, and of which he took charge in 1852, was abandoned in the following winter. He says of it: "The post, a very poor establishment, was situated immediately back of that river (Running Water) about a quarter of a mile from the Missouri."

Chittenden also mentions the Ponca Post, established for the Ponca Indian trade, and situated "just below the mouth of the Niobrara." He is also authority for the statement that the Columbia Fur Company had a post there.

[87]**Fort Defiance**, built by Harvey, Primeau & Company, about 1845-6, as an "opposition" post to the American Fur Company and operated in

defiance of that concern, stood on the west bank of the Missouri "about six miles above the upper end of the Great Bend, near the mouth of Medicine Creek," says Chittenden. It was also called Fort Bouis from one of the firm. The creek in question is now known as the Yellow Medicine.

[88]**Big Sioux Post** was located near the mouth of the Big Sioux River, and built for the American Fur Company, and it was in charge of Joseph LaFromboise. (See note on old Fort LaFromboise.)

[89]**Fort Primeau,** in the neighborhood of old Fort Pierre, was a temporary post erected a short distance above the Fort LaFromboise of La Barge, Harkness & Company, and it stood just above the bend of the Missouri where the latter turns south from Peoria Bottom, its location being on high ground, like that of Fort LaFromboise, and near the edge of the river bluff. An estimate not far from the truth would place it a mile or so above that Fort LaFromboise and something over nine miles above the mouth of Bad River. A detailed description of it is not at hand; but it was built and occupied by Chas. Primeau early in the sixties and probably before 1862. There is said to have been another temporary post called Fort Primeau just below Fort LaFromboise of 1862, but if so it must have been of very brief duration.

[90]**Fort Rice** was built in 1864, and stood on the west side of the Missouri River six and one-half miles above the mouth of the Cannon Ball River, in lat. 46° 31′ N., long. 100° 35′ W. The military reservation upon which it stood was taken from the lands of the Uncpapas on both sides of the river, in what are now Morton and Emmons counties, North Dakota. Building was begun by Colonel Dill with six companies of the 30th Wisconsin volunteers July 9, 1864, and the post was rebuilt in 1868. It stood 300 yards from the river and 35 feet above low water mark, immediately above a small creek known as Long Knife Creek. On the opposite side of the river and a mile below is the mouth of Long Lake Creek. The site of this post is nearly six miles below the present Fort Rice P. O.

Sergeant J. H. Dripps (Company L, Sixth Iowa Cavalry), who was at this place when the post was built, during Sully's campaign, says that on July 8 the materials for the post were there at the landing on various boats also carrying provisions, etc.; and on July 18, the soldiers being about to depart under orders, he makes this entry in his journal: "As this is the last day of being here it will be as well to give a short description of the post. It is built on a beautiful table land some 100 feet above the level of the river—a splendid site. It is a beautiful place, built of cottonwood logs sawed 6 by 8 and one story high. There are eight barracks or room for eight companies of soldiers, besides officers' quarters, hospital buildings, etc. The bastions are on the southwest and northeast corners. The quartermaster's and commissary buildings are in the rear of the quarters and are constructed of round logs, but put up in a good style. There are two saw mills at the post, one being a stationary mill run by a steam engine and the other is a portable mill run by horse power. Both have done excellent business in getting out material for the

post. There is a sutler's shop and other fixtures that are usually found around a military post. There is an abundance of splendid cottonwood timber close to the fort above and below the post, and also some hard wood, burr oak, etc. The fort is situated above the mouth of the Cannon Ball River about ten miles and on the same side of the Missouri, and also about two miles above the mouth of Long Lake Creek, which empties itself into the Missouri on the opposite side from the fort. The post is well situated for defense, and it is the opinion of the writer that 100 men well provisioned could hold it against all the Indians in Dakota Territory. General Sully gave it the name of Fort Rice. It was built and garrisoned by six companies of the Thirtieth Wisconsin Infantry. This is as good and accurate description as I can give it." (See Dr. Coues' note to "Larpenteur," page 384-5.)

[91]**Fort Meade,** South Dakota, is located three miles east from Sturgis, and was established in 1878, the number of acres in the reservation being 7,842; the garrison now consists of headquarters and eight troops of the 13th U. S. Cavalry. (Per Major Wilson under date of October 9, 1902.) The site and establishment is one of the most beautiful and attractive of the military posts in the country.

[92]**Fort Bennett** was built by the federal government as an agency headquarters for the Sioux Indians in the neighborhood of the Cheyenne River, and was located on the west side of the Missouri River about four and one-half miles above Fort Sully, and opposite what is known as the Gehring Ranch. The buildings and inclosures were situated about half a mile back from the river bank on a fine level stretch of rather high bottom land, and their location was about six miles below the southern end of the Little Bend and some twelve miles or more by water below the mouth of the Cheyenne. The military quarters were erected in the fall of 1878, and the agency was established a short time prior thereto. There was a regular Indian agency establishment, also an Indian trader's post in connection, the whole consisting of a number of store-houses, lodging quarters and other appurtenances. The military grounds were at the southern end of the general establishment, and consisted of several main buildings supplemented by a number of neat cottages, the entire military establishment being fenced off from the remainder. The miltary quarters were built by Richard Powelson of Sioux City for the contractor, Charles K. Poor, of that city.

Upon the taking effect of the Sioux agreement of 1889, under which the ceded portion of the Great Reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians was thrown open to settlement, Fort Bennett was, in 1890 and 1891, abandoned, and its successor, the present Cheyenne River Indian Agency, was established on the west side of the Missouri and about two miles below a point opposite the mouth of the Little Cheyenne, and some thirty miles by water above the mouth of the Cheyenne.

OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO FORT PIERRE

War Department
Quartermaster General's Office,
Washington, March 23, 1855.

Major D. H. Vinton,
Quartermaster,
St. Louis, Mo.

Major:

Obtain the most reliable information possible, as to the suitableness of Fort Pierre Choteau, at the mouth of Bad River, on the upper Missouri, for a Depot of Supplies, and the nature of the country thence to Fort Laramie, together with the distance of the former to the latter place. Report to me on these subjects as soon as practicable. It seems to me that we would save a considerable sum annually, by sending our supplies for Fort Laramie to that point, and transporting them thence by land to Fort Laramie.

Since writing the above, I have received the enclosed instructions from the War Department, through the Adjutant General. You will consult General Clark, and will take prompt measures to carry out the views of the Secretary of War.

Furnish me the information called for in the first paragraph as soon as you can obtain it. From Mr. Choteau's partner, (I do not remember his name), you will be able to get satisfactory and full information; also from others.

—Th. S. Jesup,
Quartermaster General.

Qr. Master's Office, St. Louis,
March 30th, 1855.

General:

I have had the honor to receive your letter of the 23d inst., enclosing a copy of the instructions of the War Department, addressed to you by the Adjutant General, in relation to the contemplated movement of troops into the Indian country in the course of the ensuing season.

You desire me "to obtain the most reliable information possible as to the suitableness of Fort Pierre on the upper Missouri for a depot of supplies and the nature of the country thence to Fort Laramie, together with the distance from the former to the latter place."

I have conversed with Mr. John B. Sarpy, the active or principal partner, at St. Louis, of the firm of P. Chouteau Jr. and Co., who are the owners of Fort Pierre, respecting the points referred to, and, from all the information I have gathered from him, I can come to no other conclusion than that Fort Pierre is unfitted for a depot of supplies for any considerable body of troops in its immediate vicinity. The dimensions of the enclosure forming the trading establishment, are sufficiently large to contain the ordinary qr. mr's stores, proper, the subsistence, ordnance and medical supplies, and to afford quarters to the officers and employees requisite at a depot; but, to provide for the wants of a mounted force, or the numerous animals necessary to be kept there for transportation purposes, there are none of the usual resources for forage to be found.

Fort Pierre is situated in the country called "Mauvaise Terre," and for hundreds of miles around, there is no grass susceptible of being made into hay for winter food. The short, but nutritious buffalo grass prevails and affords good grazing in the summer, but it is covered by the snows in the winter.

Fodder cannot be procured as a substitute, as the sterility of the soil forbids the cultivation of corn. Mr. Sarpy states that about the only district capable of producing corn, is found on an island about three miles long and three-fourths of a mile in width, and distant about three miles from the fort; but that the largest crop hitherto raised, has been about thirty bushels in one year, after repeated trials for five years; or, in other words, one meagre crop only can be expected from five plantings.

Fuel for consumption at the proposed depot, cannot be had at a less distance than twenty miles. The customary manner of procuring it in considerable quantities, is to send chopping parties above and raft it down the river to the place of deposit. Fort Pierre was established eighteen years ago, and, in the meantime, the timber, never very dense, has been exhausted within the circuit I have mentioned.

For our supplies of corn and hay then, we must look to the nearest settlements below on the Missouri, at present from 600 to 700 miles. I have had corn offered to me, to be delivered at such points at 60 cents per bushel, but to carry it to the depot, a boat of extreme light draft must be used, and, at rather favorable stages of the river. The navigableness of the Missouri from St. Louis to Fort Pierre, cannot be depended upon, for boats of 300 tons, longer than 75 days in the year; nor can more than one voyage be performed by a single boat. I am told that it is useless to leave St. Louis for such a purpose before the first of June, then to avail of the periodical high water caused by the melting of the snow in the mountains whence the Missouri has its source. It requires about 25 days to reach Fort Pierre, and about ten or fifteen to return to St. Louis. Hence you will perceive that to carry out the instructions of the War Department of the 23d instant, several boats will be required to convey all the stores necessary to supply the troops, cavalry as well as infantry, ordered there, and, should the Dept. become a permanent one, all the supplies destined for that quarter hereafter, must be accumulated at this place, so as to be shipped about the first of June of every year, to secure certain and economical transportation.

From the foregoing, you will be able, in a manner, to judge of the expediency suggested in your letter of sending our supplies for Fort Laramie to that point instead of to Fort Leavenworth. The annual supplies destined for Fort Laramie are now conveyed by contract with civilians; were they to be sent by the way of Fort Pierre, a train of wagons must be maintained there, at the risk and expense, and under difficulties to which I have adverted, to forward them to their destination. The cost of transportation per 100 lbs. from St. Louis to Fort Laramie last year, was $8.31; the charge for freight to Fort Pierre, may be estimated at five dollars; and the subsequent expense of sup-

porting the animals belonging to the wagon train to forward the supplies, seasonably, is incalculable. From the character of the soil in that region, there can never be afforded means of transportation by contract, nor forage to subsist our own animals, through the facilities offered elsewhere by individual enterprise and a cultivated country.

The distance from Fort Pierre to St. Louis is 1525 miles, and to Fort Laramie, 325 miles. The road between the latter points is a good one in dry seasons, but very difficult after heavy rains.

I respectfully submit herewith a rough draft of the country within the circumference of the proposed operations, a plan of Fort Pierre, showing the dimensions of the several buildings, and a list of distances from St. Louis to various points on the Missouri, as far as its source.

Although I have expressed an unfavorable opinion of the capabilities of Fort Pierre as a depot (especially for cavalry supplies) it must be conceded there is no other place on the Missouri more eligible in view of the communications to be kept up with Fort Laramie. Should the depot or a military post be permanently established there, it may be found necessary to form an Entrepot at the "Eau-qui-court," or, between that and White River, and, for the purpose of making the delivery of supplies certain, under the variation of the waters of the upper Missouri, one or more small draft boats should be purchased and kept constantly in service, plying between these points and Fort Leavenworth or the settlements.

Should you concur with me in the latter suggestion, I would respectfully ask that Major Ogden be detained long enough from the execution of his present orders, to purchase on the Ohio River the steamboats required and equip and man them at the same time.

I am, General,
With great respect,
Your obdt. servant,
—D. H. Vinton,
Major and Qr. Mr.

Major General T. S. Jessup,
Qr. Mr. General,
U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Saint Louis, Missouri,
April 5, 1855.

Colonel:

I arrived at this city on the 1st instant, and have occupied myself since that time in the necessary preliminary inquiries and measures incident to the operations about to be undertaken, under my direction on the plains.

I find the Missouri River unusually low for the season of the year, so low indeed that boats of ordinary draft cannot ascend even to Fort Leavenworth. The two companies of the 6th Infantry which are to relieve those of the 2d at Fort Riley, are under orders and only waiting for an opportunity to proceed to Fort Leavenworth. In regard to the companies of the 2d Infantry destined for Fort Pierre, the experience of the oldest pilots on the Missouri, is opposed to their starting before they will be likely to meet what is termed the June rise; that is to say, about the middle of May, from Saint Louis so as to meet the June freshet about midway between this point and Fort Pierre. It is highly probable also, that the necessary supplies for the Quartermaster's and Subsistence Departments intended for that line, cannot be collected before the time above named.

In respect to the troops and supplies destined for Forts Laramie and Kearney, considering the prospect for an unusually backward spring, it would not be safe to predict their departure from Fort Leavenworth, before the 15th proximo, or the 1st of June.

As yet, Brevent Major O. F. Winship, A. A. G. and Captain S. Van Vliet, Asst. Qr. Mr., are the only staff officers that have reported to me. I doubt not that measures have been taken to supply the remainder required for the Expedition, but it is highly important that they should report to me at as early a day as practicable. I have already been advised that Captain M. D. L. Simpson, of the Subs. Department and a Topographical Engineer (not designated) are assigned to the expedition. There are still wanting at least one more Asst. Qr. Master, four more medical officers, one paymaster and an ordnance officer.

I have just received a letter from the Commissary General of Subsistence, relative to the assignment of Captain Simpson to the expedition, and a recommendation that he be required to

accompany the troops destined to establish a post on the upper Missouri. Such a destination is a proper one for an officer of his department, and it is my intention to give him that direction unless some unforeseen contingency prevent.

Regarding the Missouri side of the Sioux country as the most advantageous in many respects to operate from, it is my intention to move with the first troops leaving for that quarter, in order to satisfy myself, by personal observation, of the most suitable point for the principal depot; provided, Fort Pierre is not decided upon for that purpose, in which event it would be useless to look further at present. Indeed it is highly improbable that any other place can be found combining so many positive advantages for immediate operations.

It is barely possible that some other point might be found which would be preferable for a military post.

It may not be unseasonble to call the attention of the proper authorities to the expediency, and in my view, the necessity of purchasing a small light draft steamer for service on the Upper Missouri. The advantages of such a boat in operations along the river are too obvious to require explanation, not to speak of the many ways in which it could be made serviceable to the Depot.

I am, Colonel,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Genl. &c.

Lieut. Col. L. Thomas,
Asst. Adjt. General,
Hd. Qrs. of the Army,
New York.

Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, April 25, 1855.

Bvt. Brig. Genl. W. S. Harney,
U. S. Army, Comdg. Sioux Exptn.,
St. Louis, Missouri.

General:

The Secretary of War directs that you cause a military reservation to be laid off at Fort Pierre, of such extent as may in your opinion be required for public purposes, and to include the

island in the Missouri River three miles below the fort. Be pleased to forward a map of the reserve, for the information of the War Department.

I am, sir,
Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—S.Cooper,
Adjutant General.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Saint Louis, Mo., June 2, 1855.

Colonel:

I deem it proper that I should give a summary of the preliminary steps taken, with the view to carrying out the instructions I have received from the War Department in relation to the expedition placed under my command.

Two companies of the 5th Infantry under Bvt. Major S Woods, are now in position at Fort Riley; and the two companies of the 2d Infantry under the command of Bvt. Lieut. Colonel W. R. Montgomery, are in waiting at Fort Leavenworth for the other four companies of the same regiment, which have been ordered to be in Alton, Ill., by the 10th proximo, to take passage for Fort Pierre. They will be received by boats, two of which have been purchased, and the remainder employed to transport them and all the public stores necessary for 1500 men for one year. The two public boats are intended for the service of the Upper Missouri Post.

The three companies of the 6th Infantry, commanded by Major A. Cady and destined to reinforce the garrison of Fort Kearney, are presumed to be en route for that post, copies of the order for which movement, have already been furnished your office. The company of the 6th Infantry destined for Fort Laramie, and the recruits for the companies now occupying the same post, have been directed to escort the advance of the trains freighted with supplies for the troops on the North Platte.

I have sent Lieut. Balch, of the Ordnance, to inspect the prairie battery manned by Light Company G, 4th Artillery, and have instructed him to make all necessary repairs for putting it in condition for field service, if practicable. Should it prove irreparable, I propose to incorporate the company temporarily,

with the mounted force of my command, as I shall be in great want of that species of troops.

When the companies of the 2d Infantry and the public stores for the Upper Missouri shall have left this place, all that will remain needful to me in order to commence active operations, will be the mounted force assigned to the expedition. There are now four companies of the 2d Dragoons available. Should the six companies of the same regiment, lately ordered to Fort Riley, be placed under my command, I could enter the field with, probably, about 700 mounted troops; but as this force, even with the aid of such infantry troops as I could command would be small for the vast extent of country to be covered or order to operate with any prospect of a solid success, and as I am enjoined to undertake no "partial operations," I cannot too strongly urge the necessity of organizing the companies of "Cavalry" destined for the expedition with all convenient dispatch; especially if it be expected that I shall commence active hostilities this season. With the 2d Dragoons, the battery, and such infantry support as I should be enabled to take into the field, I should have no hesitation to encounter all the hostile Sioux combined, and should do so with the confident anticipation of a victory in the technical sense of the term; but a victory in our acceptance of the term, is no victory at all in the eyes of the Indians, unless we destroy more of them than they do of us. This is a fact well known to those at all experienced in Indian warfare. Savages must be crushed before they can be completely conquered. Measures must be taken to capture as well as to defeat the enemy, and to do that the mounted force originally assigned to the expedition added to the six companies of the 2d Dragoons before alluded to, would not be too great an allowance of cavalry.

According to the present appearances, the season will have been far spent before this mounted force can be collected and organized; so far indeed, that there is reason to believe that winter will have set in before it can penetrate far into the Sioux country. Had a portion of the time that was lost in Congress in passing the bill for an increased military force been spared to the expedition, it would doubtless have been ready to enter the field in season for a vigorous campaign; but that, in my judgment, is out of the question this year. A winter campaign near the base of the Rocky Mountains would doubtless be attended

with no little risk and suffering to the troops. Partial operations from convenient points, having in view the breaking up of a particular band, might and probably would succeed, but anything like a general hostile operation during the winter season, between the latitudes of 42 and 45 and in a country elevated 4000 feet above the level of the sea, could scarcely be expected, and I presume is not.

I venture these suggestions in no spirit of captiousness, for I have had the most satisfactory proofs, on all sides, of a willingness to aid me to the utmost extent that the means of the Government will allow. I make them merely to show that, under the most favorable circumstances, but little can reasonably be expected from the expedition this year.

I am, Colonel,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Genl. &c.

Lieut. Col. L. Thomas,
Asst. Adjt. General,
Headquarters of the Army,
New York.

Headquarters 2d Infantry,
Fort Pierre, N. T., July 31, '55.

Sir:

I have the honor to report that Major Gaines, Pay Dept. and myself arrived at this post on the 14th instant. I assumed command of the post the day following.

In consequence of the low stage of water in the Missouri the public transports, destined for the post, have been compelled to discharge the public stores at various points along the river, and guards necessarily left to take charge of the same, consequently the arrival of the troops at this post has been protracted and in detachments.

Headquarters of "A" and "I" companies arrived at post on the 12th instant, having left detachments in charge of public stores.

Asst. Surgeon Magruder, Lieut. Warren, Top. Engr. Lieut. Hunter, 2d Inf., four privates of B Company 2d Inf., and 35 recruits intended for B and C Companies arrived on the 15th in-

stant. The Asst. Surgeon was detatched on the 17th to visit the several detachments below and to rejoin Companies "B" and "C," in charge of public stores at Running Water. Twenty-seven recruits intended for the named companies arrived on the 24th instant. On the 15th inst., Major Wessells with his Company was temporarily detached to Fort George to receive any public stores the transports might be compelled to discharge at that point, and if the buildings there should not be required for that purpose to take them down preparatory to their material being transported to this post, for the construction of public storehouses &c., here.

Other detachments are expected here to-night, "B" and "C" Companies to-morrow. Company "D," Capt. Gardner's is still below guarding stores, for which the Steamer Genoa has returned and is shortly expected back, which will complete the arrival of the six companies of the 2d Infantry.

The return for the present month will be forwarded so soon as it can be prepared.

The nearest post office is at Council City, on the Missouri, 425 miles distant, at which, I believe, a daily mail arrives, via Chicago and Davenport. It is understood a post office has or will be shortly established at Sergeant's Bluff on the Missouri, 100 miles nearer. An Express is now down and on its return the requisite information will have been obtained.

Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—W. R. Montgomery,
Maj. 2d Inf. Commanding Post.

Col. S. Cooper,
Adjt. Gen. U. S. Army,
Washington City, D. C.

Survey of Military Reservation at Fort Pierre

Fort Pierre, August 7, 1855.

Major:

Having completed the duties assigned me at this post, by your instructions of June 4, I shall set out tomorrow to return to Fort Leavenworth via Fort Kearney. My party consists of six experienced men of the country, mostly half-breed Sioux, and Mr. Carrey and myself. We are well supplied with everything

needful, and expect to be at Fort Kearney in from fifteen to twenty days. We shall travel as men of the country, and exercise the greatest vigilance.

The Brules, we are told by an Indian who arrived to-day, are in the Sand Hills, and are no worse to emigrants and traders than they were before the Grattan massacre. They are excited, however, against the soldiers, and would probably not lose an opportunity to destroy a small party, if it should be afforded them. These are the only Sioux we have any apprehension of.

There is a band of Ihanktonwans of the left bank of the Missouri some forty or fifty miles above L'Eau-qui-court, said to be desirous of making peace. The Ihanktonwannas are scattered along the left bank above Fort Pierre. The Unkpapas, Minikanyes, Sans Arc, and Blackfeet Sioux, are dispersed along the north fork of the Cheyenne and Powder Rivers, and on the head of the Upper Little Missouri.

I send herewith a sketch of a survey from Chantier River to Antelope River, a distance of thirty miles, made for the purpose of determining a suitable military resrve; and one also of a reconnaissance made from Chantier River to the Cheyenne, a distance by the road we took (a lodge trail) of forty miles.

The limit of the reserve, as established by the order of Colonel Montgomery, can be seen on the sketch. It embraces 310½ square miles, about fourteen only of which are of any value. This great extent is required on account of the limited resources which the country seems to possess; these, however, are not yet fully known, and future experience may enable the War Department to reduce the reserve to much smaller dimensions. This year the country is presented to us in its most unfavorable aspect, because of the deficiency of the spring rains; and many places that generally furnish an abundance of hay, now have none.

Of the probability of success in cultivating the low prairies like the one on which the post is situated, I am not prepared to speak; they seem to be composed of the washings from the black clayey bluffs, and not a deposit from the river. At the site of the fort the grass has been killed by the Indian lodges, and all the cottonwood destroyed in giving the bark to their horses in winter; there is also a great deal of wild sage growing on this plain. It, in fact, seems to be the most barren of the low prairies I have visited. The landing here is very changing;

this season it is better than usual, but any high water may put a dry sand bar in front of the fort half a mile wide; at present the steamboats discharge their freight nearly a mile from the depot. However, within the limits of the reserve, there is no place for a fort on the right bank of the river, superior to the one now occupied. As far as I have examined the river, the best places are on the left bank.

The islands that do not generally overflow (there are none wholly exempt from floods) are good for cultivation. The one included in the reserve is about two miles long by a half a mile wide, and contains a considerable prairie, yielding good grass for hay; it has also a good supply of timber (cottonwood); it is eight miles below the fort. The other valuable parts of the reserve are, the point on the left bank near the island just mentioned; a portion of the valley of the Little Missouri; and the point on the left bank, about ten miles above the fort. These combined are thought by those most capable to judge, to be ample for furnishing the necessary quantity of wood, grass and arable land. The ravines in the bluff are excellnt places for the cattle in winter, as they furnish shelter and food, and the earliest grass in spring. I have not completed my examination of the Little Missouri, and it is for that reason I have left it out on my sketch.

In making the reconnaissance to the mouth of the Cheyenne I was obliged to go by land, or wait indefinitely for the boat; I chose the former alternative, and visited all that was necessary to satisfy myself. I had the same party that goes with me to Fort Kearney, and they knew the country well. About four miles above Chantier River, is Galpin's Camp, with the party that vacated Fort Pierre on the arrival of the troops. This is a good site, has a considerable quantity of grass and wood, but not much timber fit for building; the landing is not good, better, however, than that of Fort Pierre, and it is in general a more eligible locality.

The next place worth speaking of is Du Bois' Point. This is a strip of bottom land about five miles long, and from a quarter to three-quarters of a mile wide; it has an abundance of the finest grass and timber, and a permanently good landing. This place and Crook's Point nearly opposite, would furnish all the supplies needed; there seems, however, no place to locate a fort

which would be too far from the river without subjecting it to being slightly flooded during extraordinary freshets; the bottom is also so flat as to probably remain wet long after a rain. The next desirable location is on what is called "The point below the Cheyenne"; this is a prairie from fifty to two hundred feet above the river, about five or six miles long, north and south, and a mile and a quarter wide; at the upper side there is a fine permanent landing, and there is said to be one at the lower side. There is a fine belt of wood at the lower end, and just at the upper end is a large island, probably equal in every respect, to the one included in the reserve. Altogether this point is a desirable one, and apparently offers, right on hand, nearly all the resources of this country. It is by water, forty-five or fifty miles above Fort Pierre. Formerly an Aricaree village existed here of more than three hundred lodges. I have been informed that the American Fur Company intend building upon it, but this is, as yet, doubtful. The general opinion is that the trade with the Sioux in this vicinity is ruined forever, and that it will not be profitable to incur the expense of establishing a trading post. The immediate vicinity of the mouth of the Cheyenne is not good for establishing a military post; the north side is the best and is good for trading. Dupuis is camped there with a party formerly at Fort George. I believe they intend to build houses, and occupying it permanently. Above the Cheyenne, there are said to be many good points for wood.

The Cheyenne is at present about one hundred and twenty feet wide, and eighteen inches deep at the mouth. There is said to be good cottonwood in limited quantities as far up as Cherry River, (60 miles); above that it has mainly been destroyed by the Indians to get bark. There is no pine on it until it enters the Black Hills; some cedar is found along the bluffs. The river is subject to very sudden rises, and falls equally fast; it is very crooked, and when high, has a very swift current; Mackinac boats have been brought down in time of high water, but it does not promise much in the way of steam navigation. I have said nothing about the roads to and from different places spoken of. In this respect they are all about equal. With some labor on the first mile and a half on the bluffs, the road in dry weather would become good for loaded wagons, in almost any direction. Every point from Fort Pierre to the Cheyenne would connect

well with the Laramie or Moreau roads, or with the route to the Black Hills, between the forks of the Cheyenne.

The Moreau road crosses the Cheyenne fifteen miles from its mouth; there is another crossing three miles from its mouth.

The sketches must be excused for the want of neatness as they were made with the least possible facilities.

In what I have so far accomplished, I have been essentially aided by Mr. Paul Carrey.

Whatver may be the comparative defects in the site of Fort Pierre for a military post, it is evident that it is the only one in this part of the country that could be occupied this year as a depot, and the labor that will have been expended before another season comes around, may render the removal of the post an affair of doubtful expediency.

I am, sir,

Your obedient servant.

—G. K. Warren,

Lieutenant Topographical Engineers.

Major O. F. Winship,

Assistant Adjutant General,

Of Sioux Expedition.

Quarter Master General's Office,

Washingtn, August 22, 1855.

Sir:

Your letters addressed to Maj. Vinton and this office, dated from the 20th and 28th ult., are received, and your several reports as to condition of the buildings at Fort Pierre, noticed.

At the time the agreement was made for the purchase of the establishment, it was represented to the Department, by the proprietors that the buildings and everything appertaining to them, were in good condition, and it was on the supposition that this was correct, that the agreement was made.

It was, however, provided for in the written agreement that should the fort and buildings on the arrival of the agent appointed to receive them, be found out of repair, the said Choteau and Co. shall place them, all and singular, the buildings, pickets, mill, stables, &c. &c. in good repair, order and condition, free of all expense to the United States, &c.

It would appear from your reports that you found the buildings on your arrival and entering upon possession, all out of

repair, and none of them worth repairing. In this condition of affairs, you should have called on the party to have placed the establishment in the good condition provided for in the agreement, and if he was not prepared to make the necessary repairs, to have had an examination made of them and an estimate of the amount which it would cost (there) to have them made. If this had been done, some decision could have been made in regard to payment on the agreement by a deduction of the amount it would take to place the establishment in the order agreed upon. As it is nothing can be done until such a report and estimate are received. Should the establishment be in the dilapidated condition represented in your report, the Department will not be bound to keep possession under the agreement, if at all, certainly not at the price agreed upon.

You will therefore, with as little delay as practicable, make a thorough examination of each and all of the buildings, and everything appertaining to the establishment, and report fully and in detail the order and condition in which they were at the time you took possession of them, and an estimate of the sum required to put each in good repair, order and condition as provided for in the agreement.

You will send on your report and estimate after submitting it to the Commanding Officer for his examination and opinion thereon.

Should an agent of P. Choteau Jr. and Co., be at the post you will inform him of the receipt of these instructions, and allow him free access to your report and estimate that he may there and then have a full knowledge of the repairs you think should be made, and the cost of them. It is hoped that some understanding can be had between you and the agent of the Messrs. Choteau to enable the Department to settle the matter without further delay.

Enclosed you will find a copy of the agreement.

I remain, sir,
Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—Chs. Thomas,
Dy. Qr. M. Genl. In charge.

Capt. P. T. Turnley,
A. Q. M., U. S. A.,
Fort Pierre, N. T.

Fort Pierre, N. T., Sept. 13th, 1855.

Dear General:

Extract.

* * * *

Had the reports which we received while in St. Louis in regard to the Farm Island and the immense amount of vegetables contained thereon, proved true, we should have but little use for the supply of anti-scorbutics we have most fortunately brought.

Instead of finding 500 acres under cultivation, covered with corn, potatoes, &c. &c., we find not to exceed five acres of cleared land, with but about three under cultivation, and that with only a small quantity of corn, potatoes and some few cucumbers. The growth of corn being of no account, I had it cut while green and stacked it up for the cattle this winter.

The potatoes were eaten up by the grass hoppers before I arrived, and the cucumbers were few and far between. * * *

I have also been compelled to employ several herdsmen to attend to the cattle, as soldiers at a distance of ten miles (where I have the herd) without a commissioned officer, will not perform their duty. A commissioned officer could not well be spared.

* * * *

—Thomas Wright,
1st Lt. 2d Inf., A. A. C. S.

Com. Gen. Sub.,
Washington, D. C.

St. Mary's, Sept. 22d, 1855.

Captain:

Extract.

* * * *

The Quartermaster General has refused to confirm the purchase of Fort Pierre; this I think is the worst kind of taste, not to say want of good faith. That the post was not in thorough repair, it is true, but it could have been put so without rebuilding it. It has, however, subserved our purpose, and the protection it has afforded to our supplies, has well returned the price paid for it. I would by all means advocate the payment agreed upon. If all prove a bad bargain, it is no time now to use it meanly

and honorable principles require I should abide by our own acts and foot the bill without complaint, &c.

* * * *

Yours &c.,

—W. R. Montgomery,
Bvt. Lt. Col. U. S.

Capt. Turnley,
Asst. Qr. Mr. Ft. Pierre, N. T.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Fort Pierre, N. T.,
October 19th, 1855.

Colonel:

I have the honor to report for the information of the commander-in-chief that I arrived with my command in the vicinity of this post to-day, having made an extended march through the Indian Country. I left Fort Laramie on the 29th ultimo and striking across the head waters of the White Earth River, marched down that stream through the hostile Brule country for a distance of one hundred miles; then passing to the vicinity of the Cheyenne, I examined the country along the south bank of that river for about the same distance. I encountered no Indians; all the signs showing that they had gone towards the head waters of the Little Missouri and Powder Rivers, and my guides assuring me that it was impossible to penetrate that country at this late season of the year, without endangering the safety of the troops and animals, I determined to come to this post and make preparations for throwing my command into winter quarters. Four companies of Dragoons and ten of Infantry will winter here and there is much to be done to protect them from the rigors of the winter, as Fort Pierre is of much less extent and the buildings in a more dilapidated condition than I had been led to expect.

I shall avail myself of the first opportunity to forward a more detailed report of my recent operations.

I would state that the health of my command is excellent.

I am,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Gen. &c.

Colonel L. Thomas,
Assistant Adjutant General,
Head Quarters of the Army,
New York, N. Y.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Fort Pierre, N. T.,
October 21, 1855.

Orders
No. 12.

A board of officers will convene at this post at 11 o'clock A. M. tomorrow, for an inspection in detail of the condition of the buildings, property, &c. at this place, and will report whether or not they are in accordance with the description made of them in the contract of sale, entered into between the U. S. and the Agent for Choteau Jr. and Co.

The board will consist of the following named officers, viz:

Major M. S. Howe,	2d Dragoons.
" A. Cady,	6th Infantry.
Bvt. Major H. W. Wessells,	Capt. 2d Infantry.
Asst. Surg. T. C. Madison,	Med. Department.
Capt. Van Vliet,	Asst. Qr. master.
Capt. P. T. Turnley,	" " "

The board will be furnished with all the papers necessary for the investigation and will be guided by the instructions of the Quarter Master General on this subject, addressed to Assistant Quartermaster at this post.

By order of Bvt. Brig. General Harney:
—S. Woods,
Bvt. Maj. 6th Inf.
A. A. Genl.

Fort Pierre, October 22, 1855.

The inclemency of the weather, or some other cause pre-

vented all the members of the board coming together. The recorder therefore deferred business until 11 A. M. October 23rd.

Fort Pierre, N. T., October 23d, 1855.
11 A. M.

The board met agreeably to the foregoing order, present all the members named in the order. The Recorder, Capt. Turnley, Asst. Qr. Mast. then handed to the board a copy of the contract of purchase of Fort Pierre, herewith enclosed marked A, also a copy of instructions from the Qr. Mast. Genl.'s Office, dated August 22, 1855, directing Capt. Turnley Asst. Qr. Master to make examination and report concerning said Fort Pierre and buildings, herewith enclosed, marked B. The board then proceeded to examine minutely and inspect carefully, the post of Fort Pierre, the buildings, pickets, mill, &c. &c. appertaining thereto. The Board finds the buildings of the class and construction described in paper marked "C," herewith enclosed, reference being had to the rough plan accompanying the same.

The Board then adjourned to meet at 11 a. m. tomorrow.

Fort Pierre, N. T., Oct. 24th, 1855.

The Board met pursuant to adjournment, present all the members named in the order for convening the same.

The Board then proceeded with their examination and after a close and minute investigation of the condition, character, &c. &c. of all the buildings, pickets, mill, &c. &c. contained in the contract for purchase of Fort Pierre. The Board finds the buildings, pickets and mill in bad order, bad condition and bad repair that all of the buildings are in a dilapidated condition, that most of them are in such a state of decay and dilapidation as to involve the making new in order to place them in good order and condition required by the contract for purchase. At this stage of the Board's deliberation M. Charles E. Galpin, Agent of P. Choteau & Co. was introduced to the members of the Board, he having just arrived from his encampment seven miles above Fort Pierre. M. Galpin was informed of the object of the Board, and was asked whether or not condition of the buildings, pickets, mill, etc. is now as they were on the 7th of July, 1855, when troops first arrived at the fort. M. Galpin replied that everything was in as good condition at present time as it was on that date. M. Galpin then stated that he would withdraw and attend

to some private business. The Board continued its deliberation on the examinations made. The Board finds the North and East sides of the pickets rotted off near the ground and falling down, requiring repairing by new pickets, also finds the mill to be old, worn and of very little value. The Board does therefore after carefully examining the premises, with the best lights in their power, believe that the repairs requisite to place said post, buildings, pickets, mill, &c. &c. in the condition required by the contract of purchase and suitable for the purposes for which they were purchased, cannot be made at a less cost than Twenty-two thousand and twenty-two dollars. For specification of these items in detail the Board refers to paper marked "C," herewith enclosed. The Board adjourned to meet at 11 A. M. tomorrow.

Fort Pierre, N. T., October 25, 1855.

The Board met agreeably to adjournment, present all the members. The Recorder then read over the proceedings of the Board and there being no further business to transact, the Board adjourned sine die.

—A. Cady,
Maj. 6th Infantry.

M. S. Howe,
Maj. 2d Dragoons,
Pres. Board.

H. W. Wessells,
Bvt. Maj. 2d Inf.

Stewart Van Vliet,
Capt. A. Q. M.

T. C. Madison,
Asst. Surg. U. S. A.

P. T. Turnley,
Capt. Asst. Qr. Mast.,
Recorder of Board.

On the civilized side of the Mo.,
Friday morning, Oct. 26, 1855.

Dear Captain:

I have just crossed over after a two hours pull working at the oar myself all the time. My men worked all night & got the last load over just after sunrise this morning. Galpan's big boat ran aground the first trip and had to be unloaded by scows.

Your men went to bed and mine did nearly all the work. Balsh, Down and my brother were up all night. This flat boat crossing of the Mo. is a d—d bad institution, but when you get here, particularly at this place, it appears that you are in a different clime. How the deuce any one in his sane mind can prefer the bleak plains of Fort Pierre, to the shelter of the woods, I cannot imagine. If I were the General, I would send every company away from the post with the exception of one or two. This place, from what I have seen of it, is an excellent place for a few companies, particularly if they had lodges. Making huts would destroy too much timber. My regards to Mrs. T.

Very truly,

V. V.
(Captain Van Vliet).

Capt. Turnley,
Capt. A. Q. M.

Fort Pierre, N. T., Nov. 1, 1855.

Sir:

In reply to your letter of this date, allow me to say that I have gone over the country on the west bank of the Missouri, for eight miles below and above Fort Pierre & although I have looked diligently for the three grand requisites which you mention, viz: Building timber, fuel and grass suitable for the sythe, found absolutely none worth the hauling.

The first time I saw at a distance the valley of the Little Missouri, I thought that an abundant supply could be had from it; but upon a nearer inspection, found the timber scattering and of a scrubby character, consisting mostly of a species of elm unsuited to any known domestic use. The little cotton wood upon its banks (there are no islands in it with timber upon them), is of recent growth and inaccessible to wagons by reason of the boggy character of the stream.

This year in my opinion, no hay could have been cut upon the Little Missouri or in its tributaries within the limits above mentioned.

On the other hand, if I have made statements, contrary or even regardless of facts, it remains to be proved. If I have hazarded opinions, I am responsible for them. If I have raised imag-

inary difficulties which a few days have dissipated, I have not yet seen the happy event.

When I speak officially of the destitution of a country, locality or vicinage, in supplies, &c., I do so with reference to the uses to be made of such supplies, and the consumption required. While I regret some of the phraseology used in my letters, yet I have nothing of the spirit and meaning of those letters to retract, nor one word less disparaging of Fort Pierre and vicinage, these remarks in justice to myself, and to vindicate truth, reports in resources and capabilities to offer. I am compelled to make to your office from "actual examination" to the contrary notwithstanding. I know not the authors of those reports to your office, which have been more reliable to the Department than mine were, nor do I care to inquire, especially as you do not say that such reports were official. I have heard of some reports having been made and published concerning Fort Pierre, the country, its resources, &c. &c., but I have not seen any of such reports. I am sorry the Department did not consider my statements of things here generally, as well as in detail at least deserving as much weight as others. I labored hard and long, and through many disadvantages to get here and to get property supplies here. I was disposed to view things as they were, not as many interested persons told me they "were once" or "would be another year." The post itself, I viewed in a practical, disinterested and impartial light. I was not unskilled in these things and used my best judgment to direct me, you received my views in letter of July 20th. Others differed from me, even officers here at the time, I think, however, that others of better judgment, have fully sustained my own convictions, which I tried to express in the language as briefly as I could. The same too in regard to the resources of the place and vicinity. I indulged in no hypotheses, but said what I saw, in the spirit and meaning of the practical results to flow from adopting my reports. The warm weather, and pleasant nights nor the fostering care and polite attentions of the people vacating the premises, did not lull me into forgetfulness, that 800 men were to be housed and warmed here; that as many animals had to be provided for, and that snows would take the place of beggarly tufts of grass. I knew the amount of supplies requisite. I knew too, what amount and the character thereof, could be gathered on the lands I had

seen. I had seen enough to warrant me in speaking as I did, and I am responsible for the statements, by fair representation. We have gathered no hay, the sedge grass and broom straw put up is only called by this name for want of a better. Taking the prairie hay as usually occurs on the southern prairies (I have no experience in the Northern prairies) at 100 per cent, then the material we have is about 30 per cent. You will see from my Quarterly Return of Property, that I take up 100 tons, which is the most I could possibly estimate it at, and even more, but the officer who cut it insisted upon 150 tons. It is going to issue out about 78 tons. My letter to your office dated 20th Aug. referring to the rate of progress of cutting hay and fuel as reported by these officers, compares badly with the results, but such was their opinion. When I came to count, & weigh and estimate myself, there appears this difference, for which I hope I am not entirely responsible. In conclusion, I have the honor respectfully to request, that, as official reports have to be laid before the Hon. Sec. of War, that this letter with the accompanying papers in number, (being as they are explanatory of official reports) be also laid before the Hon. Secretary.

I am Colonel, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—P. T. Turnley,
Capt. A. Q. M.

Col. Charles Thomas,
Actg. Qr. Mr. Genl.,
Washington, D. C.

Fort Pierre, Nov. 1, 1855.

Dear Sir:

I have examined your report and estimate representing the condition and repairs you think should be made on the premises of Fort Pierre, to place the whole in the condition you think is called for by the terms of contract for purchase. The language therein is good repair and condition. Now what the representations were that the agent who negotiated the sale made to the department, as to the capacity or condition of the premises, I have not the means of knowing, further than that the company had represented it in good order for a trading post, such is and has been my understanding of this matter. But there has arrived here more than twice the amount of supplies and number

of troops requiring storage, that it was ever expected the Government would send here. I agree with you partially as to the condition of the fort, and most particularly that of the picketing, and the somewhat used saw mill, and also that of some of the buildings. But these latter, in my opinion, ought to be made equal to requirement of contract, in spirit and in meaning of the parties, and I firmly believe by much less repairs, and by far less expense than your report calls for. Certainly the Government did not mean to purchase a new fort, while to repair the present structures of the old foundation, however long standing, comes fully within my construction of the contract. Now to do the latter repairing, in my opinion ought not to cost more than a few thousand dollars, say three thousand dollars, and not to exceed this amount one cent, this amount I mean to cover the entire expense of repairing the pickets, saw mill and buildings, and I regret much that I was not apprised of the repairs that would be required to fill the contract, and as for the buildings at the island, never were anything else than log huts of the roughest kind. But were certainly sold and purchased as they were. I am willing therefore as the agent of the company to settle with you by allowing a deduction of three thousand dollars from the amount of purchase called for in contract of 14th April. More than this, I cannot consent to with the present light before me, and my understanding in this matter. Should you be willing to do this, I shall feel myself bound for the company for the deduction proposed.

If not, then I prefer that the department at Washington settle the matter with the principal persons in the company on such terms as they may feel disposed to agree upon.

I am,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—C. E. Galpin.

To Capt. P. T. Turnley,
Asst. Qr. Master, F. P. N. T.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Fort Pierre, N. T., Nov. 1, 1855.

Orders
No. 19.

It being deemed almost impossible to supply this post with wood for winter, without reducing the work animals, by labor,

to a condition that will render them unfit for service in the spring, the following distribution of the troops at this post will be made:

1. Four companies 2d Infantry, under the command of Bvt. Maj. H. W. Wessells, 2d Infantry, will proceed to a point above, about five miles distant from this post on the east bank of the Missouri River, and there establish and occupy a winter cantonment.

Two companies of the 2d Infantry to be designated by Bvt. Maj. Wessells, battalion commander, will move to a point above, about eighteen miles distant from the post, on the west bank of the Missouri River, and report to Bvt. Maj. L. P. Graham, 2d Dragoons, now there, who will place them in a position for their winter cantonment.

2. Major C. Cady, 6th Infantry, with the four companies of the 6th Inf. under his command, will proceed to a point above, about ten miles from this post, on the east bank of the Missouri River, and select a place for the winter cantonment of his command, that he may deem most suitable.

Asst. Surgeon A. T. Ridgely, M. D. will accompany Major Cady's command.

3. Major M. S. Howe, 2d Dragoons, with one company of the 2d Dragoons, and a detachment of one non-commissioned officer and eight privates from each of the six companies of the 2d Infantry, under the command of an officer, will proceed to a point between the mouths of White and Leau-qui-court Rivers, from which he can communicate with the public steamer "Grey Cloud." After said steamer has discharged her public stores, he will have them taken care of and placed at a suitable point he may choose for his camp, which will be selected with a reference to the establishment of a permanent military post. Major Howe will have the country surrounding the camp he may select, examined for fifteen or twenty miles, and a topographical sketch made of it.

Assistant Surgeon T. C. Madison, M. D. will accompany Major Howe's command.

By order of Brig. Genl. Harney:

Signed. —S. Woods,
Bvt. Maj. 6th Inf. A. A. A. G.

Asst. Qr. Master's Office,
Fort Pierre, N. T., Nov. 1st, 1855.

General:

In obedience to instructions from your office, dated 22d August, last, I have the honor to report that I have thoroughly examined each and all of the buildings at this post and everything appertaining to the establishment. I find the buildings, the mill and fuel and half of the picketing, in what I consider a dilapidated condition, the whole requiring repairs (with the exception of the south and the west sides of the picketing) to place them in the condition and order required by the agreement. Paper marked "A," herewith inclosed, contains a description of each structure, its condition, with estimate annexed thereto, of the cost to repair it. The condition of each here given, is the same which existed at the date I first came to Fort Pierre, and the same also as at the date when the troops first arrived. My estimate for repairing the whole premises is twenty thousand five hundred and twenty dollars. The instructions from your office for me to make this examination, report and estimate, as also the result of the same, including my estimate in detail, have all been submitted to Mr. Charles E. Galpin, Esq., (Agent of P. Choteau Jr. & Co.) whose answer is inclosed herewith marked B.

The repairs required are so extensive (to meet what seems to me to be the requirements of the contract), as to involve the making new of most of the structures and half of the picketing. Nevertheless, as Mr. Galpin virtually says in his letter (B), there is room for an honest difference of opinion in this matter. Houses and tenements old and worn, of the usual construction, may be placed in good repair order and condition, in most cases, without the necessity of re-building or making new; but, the Fort Pierre premises are of that kind of structure when viewed in connection with their condition, as not to admit of this, yet, when the repairs called for by this report are made, the structures will be virtually new, and as good as new. Now as Mr. Galpin says, certainly the Govt. did not suppose it was purchasing a new post (or fort), to which I answer "If company designed to sell to the Govt. his Fort in "good order, repair" &c. then it was impossible to meet that design without the repairs called for. Hence, as I view the matter, there is, always a moral intent and spirit in the minds of contracting parties in matters

of this kind, which ought in justice, to govern a settlement, as well as the specifications of contract. Taking the condition of these premises, the language of the contract, and your letter of instructions, with my best judgment in the matter, I cannot, as an officer of the Government, agree to the deduction, merely, offered by Mr. Galpin, but must insist that the sum of twenty thousand five hundred and twenty dollars ought to be deducted from the amount of purchase named in the contract. I regret, therefore, my inability to arrive at any more definite understanding with the Agent here, although we have conferred freely on the subject, and in the most amiable spirit.

I am General,
Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—P. T. Turnley,
Capt. A. Q. M.

Major General Thos. S. Jesup,
Quarter Master General,
Washington, D. C.

The Missouri River has since the establishment of this post been very difficult to cross with scows, for three reasons, viz: Low water, quicksands and high winds, which last frequently stopped navigation entirely for three days at a time.

On the east bank of the river I know of no grass suitable for hay within the limits of four miles above or below the fort.

Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant.
—J. T. Magruder,
Asst. Surgeon.

Capt. P. T. Turnley,
Asst. Quartermaster.

Fort Pierre, N. T., November 1, 1855.

Captain:

I have just received your letter from this date, asking for a statement as to the resources of Fort Pierre and vicinity, to furnish the fuel and hay, requisite for troops and animals at this post. In reply I have to state that to my knowledge, hay cannot

be procured in this vicinity and fuel only in a very limited quantity, insufficient for the wants of so large a post; the right bank of the river (in reference to the latter article and vicinity of the station), having been apparently long since exhausted.

A tolerable supply of miserable grass can be cut on the left bank of the Missouri at different points ten or twelve miles below, and the same observation will apply to fuel, except as to quantity, but the river being almost impracticable, either for ascending or crossing, those supplies can only be available here, by the most extraordinary efforts and at great expense; in fact it seems to involve the necessity of removing both troops and animals to the opposite side of the river.

It is said that a considerable quantity of wood and hay can be cut on the east bank, seven or eight miles above, but I have not visited that locality.

Respectfully, &c.,
—H. W. Wessells,
Bvt. Maj. 2d Infantry.

Capt. P. T. Turnley,
Asst. Qr. Master, Fort Pierre, N. T.

Fort Pierre, N. T., Nov. 2, 1855.

Sir:

In reply to your communication of the 1st inst., requesting "a statement in writing as to the resources of Fort Pierre and its vicinity, to furnish the fuel and hay required for troops and animals of this post," I have to state that I have been down the river on the west bank for sixty-five miles, and from actual observation find the country unproductive in either fuel or hay, so much so that nothing like a sufficiency of either could be procured for the use of this command.

On the east side, twelve or fifteen miles below the post, from one to two hundred tons miserable grass and a small quantity might be obtained at great expense and labor. From what I have seen and heard of Fort Pierre and the country in its vicinity, I consider it barren and destitute of the resources necessary for a military post.

The numerous sand bars in the river, and the frequent chan-

ges of the channel, render it extremely difficult for the navigation of flat boats.

Very respectfully,

—C. S. Lovell,
Capt. 2d Infantry.

Capt. P. T. Turnley,
Asst. Qr. Master,
Fort Pierre, N. T.

Camp Seclusion, near the mouth of the
Little Missouri River, N. T.,
November 2d, 1855.

Captain:

Your note of this date asking my opinion of the resources of the country in the vicinity of Fort Pierre, N. T., for subsistence of animals and fuel for the troops, I have this moment received. I have found but little grazing. Possibly fuel enough may be got for one company for the winter. In short from all I have seen, it is a most barren and destitute country of the requisites for the purpose you mentioned.

I am sir, very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,

—M. S. Howe,
Maj. 2d Dragoons.

Capt. P. T. Turnley,
Asst. Qr. Master,
U. S. A.

Fort Pierre, N. T., Nov. 3d, 1855.

Sir:

In reply to your letter of 1st Nov. 1855, I have to state that so far as I have had an opportunity to see and examine the country in the vicinity of Fort Pierre, I have found it a barren and desolate waste. I hardly think any language too strong to be used in speaking of it. There is no wood in any quantity that I have seen within twelve miles below the post; I have never been above the post on the river and cannot speak of that part of the country, but I understand that it is even worse than that below. The fact of our not being able to winter here is sufficient evidence that there is nothing to depend on at this fort, or we would not be sent off at this late season to hut our

commands. I have seen no hay except on one point, 15 miles below, but I do not know what quantity it might furnish as I never examined it particularly. It looked to me like coarse grass and not likely to make good hay.

There are none of the essentials (except water) at this point necessary to sustain a miltary post.

I am,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—D. Davidson,
Capt. 2d Infantry.

Capt. P. T. Turnley,
Asst. Qr. Master,
U. S. A.

Fort Pierre, N. T., Nov. 5, 1855.

Captain P. T. Turnley,
A. Q. M.

Dear sir:

A few days after my arrival here from Fort Leavenworth, in August last, I went in pursuance to your instructions to examine the Little Missouri River and ascertain whether a sufficiency of grass could be found to graze the animals "one hundred and fifty-seven in number," brought here under my charge. I did, carefully examine it for four miles or more above its mouth, also Willow Creek as well as the bottom between the two streams and do hereby certify on honor, that I could neither find a sufficient quantity of grass for grazing the animals above referred to, or enough fit for hay, to fill a cart bed. I also certify on honor that I have carefully examined the Missouri River bottom, as well as the bluffs, on this side for more than seven miles above the post and have never found an acre of ground that could turn off grass enough, even when closely mowed, to load a common two horse wagon. I have been more than sixty-five miles below this post "on the west side of the river" and hereby certify that there is not, nor has there been this summer, any good grass for grazing within sight of any of the roads that I traveled, certainly none that hay could be made of. I have been on the east side of the river, along the bottom, and on the table

land, for a distance of 12 or fifteen miles above, and certify that there is no grass four miles above this post that was fit for making hay this summer. About six or seven miles above is the grass Lieut. Curtis cut, and which I had hauled and stacked. It was a miserably coarse, sedgey, or rather broom grass, not suited at all for hay, but the best that could be got. Lieut. Curtis had cut all that could be cut (save perhaps two acres or thereabouts, in small patches of seventy or eighty feet in circumference), but had to mow it in small patches extending over a space of four miles long by one wide. The amount of hay (so-called) that I stacked up at this place is variously estimated. Some of it I hauled on government wagon beds and some on hay ladders. I am not acquainted with the weight of this kind of grass; but judging by the numbers of loads I should suppose there was over 100 tons. I further certify that there is no lumber on the Little Missouri River, three miles below this post, but there is some small brush wood and shrewberry; and I frankly state that to the best of my belief if it were possible to mow the whole of it close to the ground, not much over two hundred cords of wood could be gotten, if that. I certify further that four miles above Fort Pierre on the east side of the river there is no lumber, for I searched in vain to get a tongue for an ox wagon at that locality, and found only a few crooked ash bushes, say three or four inches at the most, in diameter at the stump. Two miles further up, however, on the same side, is the wood cut by Lieut. Curtis, consisting of low scrubby cotton wood, good for fuel, but nothing else. The same is the locality from whence fuel has been obtained for this post. It is first hauled ¾ of a mile to the river bank, then put on the scow and brought over the river (the men often wading to pull the scow over the sand bars) and landed on the west bank at a point about six miles above the post, then hauled on wagons. The scow cannot be got near the post with more than 3 or 4 cords of wood on it.

Respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—D. W. Scott,
W. and Forage Master,
U. S. A.

P. T. Turnley,
Capt. A. Q. M.

Fort Pierre, Nov. 8, 1855.

Capt. P. T. Turnley,
A. Qr. Mr.

Sir:

In answer to your inquiries as to the resources, capacity &c., of the country at and in the vicinity of Fort Pierre, I have the honor to state that I am perfectly familiar with the entire country between Sargient's Bluffs and Fort Clark, on both sides of the river. I have frequently traveled over and explored the whole of it. I have been living in this country sixteen years and ten of the sixteen immediately at Fort Pierre, and am familiar with all the supplies that can be obtained at and in the vicinity, and I can truthfully state outside of business interests, that Fort Pierre is a barren and exhausted place. It has long been established and everything like timber and fuel has been long since consumed and for many miles, say from 20 to 25 miles on the west side.

In this I must except perhaps a few small thickets of underbrush, but none of it containing any material worthy of the appelation of timber and but little affording even fuel. It is not practicable to supply Fort Pierre with fuel except it be done either during high water, or else on the ice, and the fuel must come from some place on the east side of the river or from distant island. I have read your letter to the Quarter Master General dated July 20th, 1855, and also those addressed to Maj. Vinton of same date, and of July 24th and 28th. And I must here again freely state that I concur with you in all that you have said relative to the country surrounding Fort Pierre. It is most certainly a barren and exhausted and desolate waste and will not do or in other words furnish the supplies in timber, fuel and hay requisite for army purposes or even for anything else, while it is the most inconvenient locality to get supplies to from other posts, that you can well find on the river. What I have said in the foregoing are exactly my private views and convictions confidentially expressed to you and outside of all business transactions, and aside from my connection with the pecuniary interest of Messrs. Pierre Choteau J. and Co., as their Agent.

I am, sir,
Very respectfully,
Your most obdt. servant,
—C. E. Galpin.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Fort Pierre, N. T., Dec. 14, 1855.

Colonel:

I have the honor to forward for the information of the War Department, a Report of a Board of Officers, who were ordered to examine and report upon the condition &c. of the buildings of Fort Pierre.

This report would have been transmitted much earlier, but was overlooked by Maj. Woods, recently acting as my Assistant Adjutant General, who besides omitting to forward it, did not mention it to his successor.

The Report of the Board is fully approved, and in connection with this subject, I deem this, to be an appropriate occasion to submit some further remarks founded on my own observation.

At the time of my arrival here, there was no appearance of anything having been done except the putting up of some of the portable cottages, none of the kitchens were finished, many had just been commenced; the proper sinks had not been made; one, on each flank, had been established about 250 yards from the nearest building, and as they were in such a filthy state that the men could not approach them at night, the surface of the earth was covered with human excrement and very offensive.

Very little forage or wood had been provided for the winter and no proper arrangements had been made for procuring more of either. The wood and hay in this vicinity is either on the other side of the river or on the islands in the river; on this side, the nearest grass and wood is twenty-two miles off, where the 2d Dragoons Cantonment is stationed at present.

The river at this place instead of being an advantage, has been the greatest difficulty to overcome in obtaining these supplies. But one small boat, entirely inadequate to the wants of the post, had been built, and frequently it has been impossible to convey to the other side, the necessary orders for want of a boat. With this state of things in view Colonel Montgomery took with him to Fort Leavenworth, two public row boats, thereby interfering with, and generally retarding the crossing of the river.

I have never visited a post where so little had been done for the comfort, convenience and necessities of the troops, as at this

place, when the length of time and number of troops present are considered.

The troops of the 2d Infantry, (six companies) arrived here the latter part of July last, and were available for all purposes necessary to render the position comfortable for the winter, with the exception of a portion of five companies, for a period of eighteen days when they were in the field, in compliance with my orders.

The many disadvantages of this position, in addition to the dilapidated condition of the fort, should have determined the commanding officer of the troops to have moved on at once, either up or down the river, to some spot where wood and grass or hay could have been obtained, without the necessity of working both men and animals to such an extent as to be greatly injurious to the interests of the service. Five miles farther on the other side of the river, he would have found a position adapted to all his wants, and where he could have comfortably sheltered and housed the 2d and 6th Infantry for the winter, with the ample supply of portable cottages, and store-houses for all the stores which he had with him; this would have obviated the necessity which compelled me to place the 6th and the greater part of the 2d in cantonment on the opposite side of the river, at the point above inidcated, to save the men and animals from being over worked.

In conclusion, I cannot but remark, it was unfortunate, that the steamers purchased to transport the troops here, were entirely too large for the purpose; it was unfortunate my orders were disobeyed in that purchase; it was unfortunate the troops did not arrive in this country earlier; it was unfortunate they were stopped here; and most unfortunate of all, was the absence of a commander of energy, experience and industry.

It is much to be regretted that General Hitchcock did not accompany his regiment to this place; his experience and intelligence were very much needed.

I am, Colonel,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Genl.

Lieut. Col. L. Thomas,
Asst. Adjutant General,
Headquarters of the Army, New York.

Hd. Qrs. Fort Pierre, N. T.
January 8th, 1856.

Colonel:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your communication dated 9th of November last. In reference to the requirements of Par. 962, Army Regulations, I beg leave to refer you to my letter of July 8th, 1855, (with Post Return) notifying the department of the occupation of this post. No permanent changes have taken place since that date, except the arrival during July and August, of the companies of the 2d infantry, designated as the garrison of Fort Pierre, which changes have been duly noticed on the subsequent Post Returns.

The position of the post, being defined by maps, and known as a prominent trading post for many years, was, for these reasons, not described, it is however situated on the right bank of the Missouri River, in Lat. 44 23, 70 miles above the mouth of White Earth River by land, and 40 miles below the Cheyenne; by water, these distances are nearly doubled, it is situated about midway between Forts Ridgely & Laramie, the respective distances being about 320 miles, and in all these directions the roads are practicable for loaded wagons.

The nearest post office is at Sioux City, Iowa, at the mouth of the Big Sioux, and by land, 265 miles below this post, a post master has been appointed for Fort Pierre, but without funds or authority to make the necessary postal arrangements. The mail is therefore transported semi-monthly, by the Quarter Master's Dept., via the 2d Dragoon cantonment near Punca Creek, Nebraska, (and a few miles above the mouth of L'eau-qui-court River), to and from the post office before mentioned.

Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—H. W. Wessells,
Bvt. Maj. 2d Inf.,
Commanding.

Colonel S. Cooper,
Adjutant General, U. S. Army,
Washington City, D. C.

Note: Until Sioux City is better known as a post office, communications for Fort Pierre, should be addressed "via Council Bluffs, Iowa."

H. W. W.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Camp on Ponca Island, Missouri River,
January 20th, 1856.

Colonel:

In my communication of the 11th inst. to Colonel Thomas, Asst. Adj't. Gen'l., Army Headquarters, I stated that before leaving this place I should report my observations as to its being an eligible position for troops, &c., but a want of postage stamps at my Headquarters and the inability of either the Qr. Master here or at Fort Pierre, to supply the deficiency, compels me to make the report direct to yourself. I have the honor to request colonel that you will cause this explanation to be made to the General-in-chief that he may not conceive this deviation from the regular course of correspondence to have resulted from any other motive than that of necessity.

I have not made an extensive reconnaissance of the country in this vicinity, at any distance from the river, having been satisfied from observations on the late march to this place that the advantageous points for a military position, are only to be found upon the Missouri River. Its tributaries, the L'eau-qui-court and Ponca Rivers, are deficient in timber for military purposes and cannot be navigated by steamers.

This part of the Missouri River is most plentifully supplied with timber; at this point there is more timber than at any other between this and Fort Pierre, comprising oak, cottonwood, elm, hackberry, and some ash, with a little cedar. There is also plenty of blue limestone. The point from which I write, is about twelve miles by land, above the mouth of the L'eau-qui-court River, twenty by water on the north or east side of the river.

The Ponca Indians have large fields of corn on the river between the Ponca and L'eau-qui-court Rivers.

Several suitable sites for a position have attracted my attention between this and L'eau-qui-court; a selection from which depending upon the number and kind of force intended to occupy it. This can easily be done by the troops themselves if ordered to this point, by confining them in their choice to the south or west side, and the above mentioned portion of the river.

The military advantages of this position I need scarcely dwell on, they have been before reported, but taken in connec-

tion with a second point on the Big Sioux River, to which my attention has lately been drawn, a cordon of posts can be established, which will supersede the necessity of Riley and Leavenworth as military positions.

The Big Sioux is represented as a fine country for mounted troops, with plenty of timber and of easy egress to the country north and west of it. It is the favorite rendezvous in winter of the Poncas, Yanctons, and Santees, a band said to come from the Mississippi, who have annuities and supplies, and who divide their ammunition with the others when bent on mischief.

At least 500 of these Indians have lodges on the Big Sioux this winter, and their practice is to rob and maraud upon the settlers when about leaving in the spring. I shall check their operations this year by sending the squadron here to that point, by the steamboat, as soon as the river opens, which I am told will occur early in March. Its presence will be sufficient, as the moral effect which the different operations of this expedition have produced upon every band of the Sioux with which they have come in contact, have far exceeded my most sanguine expectations.

Five Ponca chiefs came in to see me by my direction, a few days ago, and endeavored to explain the conduct of some of their people towards a settler and his wife near Omaha, sometime since, and other acts in that neighborhood. I informed them what they might expect in future by such acts, and directed them to bring in the parties accused, with the stolen property; this they promised to do, and upon their pleading the difficulties and hardships of traveling at this season of the year, I gave them seventy-five days grace in which to perform their task.

A force of four companies of dragoons with two of infantry, on the west side of the Big Sioux, which is Indian country, will command the actions of all the Indians on the Iowa frontier, they can feel the Mississippi Sioux, besides prevent them from crossing over to the Missouri, and will also flank and check the different bands of the Sioux on the north or east side of the Missouri.

To facilitate operations from the Big Sioux, I have already granted permission to Mr. Henry Goulet, of Sioux City, who came to me well recommended, to establish ferries across the Big

Sioux and James Rivers, and bridge the Vermillion. This will ensure the communication to this point at all seasons.

A force of two companies of dragoons and four of infantry will be sufficient at this point, to keep open the communication to Fort Pierre, protect the Nebraska frontier and open roads to Kearney and Laramie.

A practicable wagon route should by all means be sought for from this point to Laramie early in the spring; and in the event of the Department adopting this position, I shall give this subject my first attention.

Two companies of infantry at Fort Pierre will answer all the wants of the service; but a large force of four companies of dragoons and six of infantry, will be required to occupy a position in the neighborhood of the Moreau River, about 100 miles above Fort Pierre. It is represented as being most abundant in timber, and by taking the different bands of the Sioux which depredate upon the Oregon route in rear, will expose to them their own weakness. It is a convenient point to operate from in the winter, with infantry.

The Big Sioux position, I consider as indispensable. Should a choice be necessary between this point and the Moreau River, my preference is for the Moreau. It is superior in almost every respect, but particularly as a point of operation against the Indians in winter and summer.

Fears of another Florida war are frequently expressed by alarmists, in the public prints, but these are groundless, the conditions being essentially different.

In Florida the Indians commanded the positions best suited to their kind of warfare, and when driven from one position easily withdrew to another. In this country the troops select and command the few positions where the Indians can congregate, and from which they can act. Let these be occupied and the Indians must cease to disturb the country, or they will soon cease to exist.

The affair at Blue Water has sufficiently proven they cannot escape us.

The first necessity in the establishment of a position on the Missouri River, is a free and easy access to the islands and opposite shore, by means of good ferries, steam or otherwise;

but each ferry should be capable of crossing a company of dragoons in an hour.

Two small steamers, capable of freighting one hundred tons and no more, would be invaluable to the operations here. An engineer or two and a pilot to each would only be required, as the troops could easily man them and supply them with wood. They could run at all seasons except when the river is closed by ice; furnish forage, fuel, &c., and render certain the arrival of all supplies at the different posts. Two such boats this year would have more than paid for themselves in the economy of transportation.

I am colonel,
Very respectfully,
Your ob't. serv't.,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Genl. &c.

Colonel S. Cooper,
Adjutant General, U. S. A.,
Washington City,
D. C.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Fort Pierre, N. T., February 22, 1856.

Colonel:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of a communication from the Honorable, the Secretary of War, dated War Department, Washington, December 26th, 1855, transmitting certain conditions to serve as a basis, upon which I am authorized to found a convention or treaty, for the restoration of friendly relations with such of the chiefs and headmen of the respective tribes of the Sioux, as may be duly empowered to act with me.

In answer, I have the pleasure to state that from present appearances, a large number of the Sioux are favorable to peace, and it was with great satisfaction that I found the conditions laid down for their guidance in future were just, considerate and magnanimous; such as will give these Indians confidence in the kindly intentions of our Government towards them.

From the information I have obtained from every source capable of imparting any, in relation to the affairs of these Indians I am most fully persuaded that mistrust, doubt and dis-

affection against our government has been designedly implanted in their minds, with a view of blinding them to their own interests, and that they might the more easily fall victims to the extortionate rapacity of traffic. When the benign and humane designs of our government are fully understood by these people, and made apparent by an undeviating course of honesty and firmness in every transaction between our people and theirs, they will listen to our advice and become good and respectable citizens. My most earnest efforts shall be exerted to affect this object, and I feel every confidence in the encouragement which I shall obtain.

To know everything satisfactorily a commander must see everything with his own eyes. Since my return to this post from the neighborhood of L'eau-qui-court River, having traveled up the Missouri River the entire distance, and observed and examined every position of any note, I am fully satisfied that this place is the best position for a depot of supplies on the river, to furnish the country back in the interior to the Black Hills, it is also the nearest practicable point of the Missouri to Fort Laramie.

A garrison of two companies will be amply sufficient to protect the stores and that would be the only duty to be done here; the haunts of the Indians being too far distant to render it expedient to move from this as a base.

A large force should be established at some point between Fort Clark and the mouth of the Yellowstone, as I consider the occupation of that portion of the country of the most importance in our exertions to control these Indians. Should this not have the desired effect, then another force must be established at Bear Lodge, at the Head Waters of the Little Missouri of the Mandans, where it makes its debut from the mountains. This is in the heart of their country, abounds in game and is their favorite retreat; such a temporary establishment as I propose at this point would enable us to overcome them in the winter and would force them to yield to any terms. But I do not think this last post will be necessary.

Six companies of dragoons and six of infantry at the Yellowstone will be sufficient; and in connection with this subject, I think it necessary to mention that the Arickarees, Mandans, and Gros Ventres on the Missouri River above Fort Clark, raise

yearly a large amount of corn, much of which is purchased by the traders at the contemptible price of a cup of sugar for each bushel.

Mr. Vaughan, Indian Agent at Fort Clarke, informs me that by my sending word to these Indians to raise this year seven or eight thousand bushels for the government they would do so, provided I would pay them in sugar, and molasses and coffee. I intend to make the request of them, and would most respectfully suggest that an amount of sugar, molasses, coffee and such other things as these people may require, be purchased and sent up to this country, to enable me to obtain from these Indians the forage. I am informed they do not wish money and will not receive it. Could not a part of the forage money appropriated for this command be expended for the above named articles?

This course would encourage the Indians to cultivate the soil, and by being more liberal than the traders in the price to be paid, we should soon gain their esteem at the same time, besides being great economy to the government in this item of expenditure. Half forage from the western frontier could be sent us this year and the balance we might risk getting from these Indians; I should not like to risk more the first year.

As tents cannot be used in this climate, the purchase of lodges will be another article of necessity to us, and a means of cultivating a friendly intercourse. This winter we have labored under great difficulties, our only means of obtaining lodges was through the traders, who charge exorbitantly for them, and who could not supply our wants, for what reason I cannot say. The skins dressed for the purpose can be bought very readily from the Indians, and will soon be made into lodges by the squaws for a little sugar. One hundred lodges of twelve skins each, will comfortably shelter from eight hundred to a thousand men during the winter, and they are easily transferred from one point to another. I shall be compelled to depend upon lodges for shelter next winter, for some portion of my command and should like very much to provide against such a contingency as the expense of them would be very trifling, if purchased in the way I propose.

When the Department receives the result of the council, to take place here on the 1st of March next, a report of which will

be immediately forwarded, it will then be fully possessed of the necessary information to decide upon the number and disposition of the troops which will be required, to enable me to carry out its views.

Would it not be well for you, colonel, should such a decision be made, to direct my staff officers in St. Louis to procure and forward the necessary supplies for the number of troops required, to the points selected? This will save much time. Any post above this should be occupied by at least 12 companies.

These Indians will no doubt comply with all my requirements as long as there is a sufficient number of troops in the country to chastise them when they misbehave.

In conclusion, I deem it my duty to make honorable mention of Mr. Alfred J. Vaughan, Indian Agent for the Upper Missouri River tribes. The station of this gentleman has been at Fort Clarke for some time past, in the midst of our enemies the Sioux; with a large amount of government goods &c., under his charge, and without any force to protect them or himself. In this perilous position he has shown the greatest firmness and decision of character, and remained at his post when few other men would have done so. His conduct and advice to these Indians has always been consistent, tending to carry out the views of the government and at the same time promote the welfare of the Indians. He is well versed in the policy to be observed towards them and is I know sincere in his efforts to carry it out. The difficulties with the Indians would correspondingly diminish, by a proportionate increase in the number of such agents.

I am Colonel,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Genl. &c.

Colonel S. Cooper,
Adjutant General,
U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Fort Pierre, N. T., March 9, 1856.

Colonel:

I have the honor to state that at the time of writing my

communication to you of the 22d ultimo, representing this place as the best position on the river for a depot from which to supply the country in rear of this towards the Black Hills, &c. I was ignorant of an insuperable objection to this as a military position, viz: That freight cannot be landed from steamers within five miles of this Fort above, on this side or three miles below. This would require an immense amount of transportation for the depot alone, and has decided me to move this command to the site of old Fort Lookout, where the landing is good, the situation fine, with all the accessories for building a post that are generally to be found, such as plenty of timber, fine bottoms for grass and hay, &c. This position is below the Big Bend of the Missouri, about twelve miles on the south or west side, it is farther from Laramie than this point, but a good road can readily be made both from Lookout and the mouth of Ponca or (L'eau-qui-court) to Laramie, so I am most credibly informed by Campbell and Rencontre, both my interpreters in the late council and in both I place every reliance in such matters. This statement is further supported by "The man that is struck by the Ree" the principal chief of the Yanctons. The road from the mouth of Ponca to Laramie would strike my trail from Laramie here, where it crosses the L'eau-qui-court. The Big Bend of the Missouri is thirty miles round and only four across, by fencing some two or three miles of this distance across, we should have an admirable enclosure for all our stock; a range of thirty miles, with plenty of fine grass, both prairie and bottom. Unless directed to the contrary, I shall move as soon as I can obtain the use of a steamer here, to transport the stores. I have ordered the quartermaster to take down the cottages, and he has already commenced.

In conversation with many of the chiefs of the Sioux who attended the late council, with others thoroughly acquainted with the country, I have arrived at the conclusion that a point opposite the mouth of Apple Creek, three miles below Heart River and sixty below Fort Clarke, is the proper position above this, to be selected; it contains all the facilities for establishing a post; an abundance of timber, grass, &c., and is in the midst of the various bands of Sioux, Uncpapas, Blackfeet, Sioux, Miniconjos, Yanctonnais, besides the Mandans, Arickarees and Gros Ventres, of that region of country. Their favorite retreat the

Little Missouri of the Mandans, is easily reached from this point.

On the arrival of the steamers I shall send some infantry up there, that they may commence at once the necessary preparations for a permanent position.

I shall accompany this command if I can find that the time will permit it before commencing the summer campaign.

I enclose for the information of the Department, a list of prices which are paid by the traders to the Indians in goods, for their robes. It clearly shows how grossly the latter have always been imposed upon.

I am, Colonel,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Genl. &c.

Colonel S. Cooper,
Adjutant General,
U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Fort Pierre, N. T., March 12, 1856.

Colonel:

I have the honor to submit for the consideration of the General-in-chief, a report of certain facts and conditions of the military service of this portion of our frontier, of such importance and necessity as to require a material modification of the present disposition of the troops in regard to unity of will and action, to enable them to obtain the most effective results.

The Sioux nation embraces many bands not at present under my authority; residing in the immense region of country from the Rocky Mountains to the Upper Mississippi River. These Indians pass into this portion of the country to commit depredations on the whites, trespass on the bands of their own nation living here, and then return to their homes.

These homes are much nearer to the military stations of the St. Peters and Mississippi Rivers than any station of my command that I can place. I need scarcely say to the General-in-chief that the sending of troops some four or five hundred miles after Indians, when a sufficient force already exists within one

hundred and fifty miles of them and sometimes a less distance, would be a display of military energy unsupported by either economy, discretion or proper judgment. Neither can it be expected that the troops stationed at the St. Peters and Mississippi Rivers, can be cognizant of the acts committed in this portion of the country by the Indians who live near them; there being no military connection or communication between us.

There is no enemy who so readily embraces the advantage of a defect in the policy or system of his foe as the Indian; until every crevice is closed he is always reluctant to yield, but once convinced there is no escape, he gracefully submits to his fate.

In view of these facts, and that the entire Sioux should be treated as one nation, I would most respectfully suggest that the force placed for their control should be of a single command, whose geographical limits to be adequate to the services required, should be somewhat as follows: Bounded on the north by the British Possessions, on the east by the Mississippi River, to some point where the jurisdiction of the States begins; thence across to the head waters of the Big Sioux River, down that river to its mouth; thence down the Missouri to the mouth of the Platte, the southern boundary to be determined by the Department, bounded on the west by the Rocky Mountains. These bounds are taken from a copy of a map prepared by the Corps of Topographical Engineers of date 1850.

The headquarters of this command should be established at some point best adapted for communication with the government and easily accessible from all points of the section of country above designated. This may be at the new position I have selected 12 miles below the Big Bend of the Missouri, or such other point as the interests of the service and the requirements of the government may demand.

The Metis or half breeds of the Red River of the North, have been in a state of war with some bands of the Sioux for a long time past. The Blackfeet and Uncapapa bands of Sioux made an excursion to the Red River settlement last summer, and took from them 300 horses, besides some forty cattle. It is probable the half breeds will attempt this season to retaliate, and so induce the Sioux to further outrages. This should be stopped by all means, but my authority does not extend to these half-breeds, besides many of them are Brtish subjects and require special

supervision to prevent their coming into our country at all, for any such purpose.

Another important subject of consideration will be the supplying of the different stations in this country, in connection with it, I desire to ask: would it not be advisable to consider the expediency of the survey and construction of a road from Fort Snelling to the Missouri River, at some point near the mouth of Heart River? the distance is not over 300 miles, and the country is high rolling prairie with an abundance of timber and water for traveling purposes.

Another road should also be opened from the vicinity of this point to Fort Snelling. In the event of a post being placed on the Red River of the North, near the boundary line, the supplies for such a position might be most easily obtained from the extreme point of Lake Superior. I have been told there is a good water communication from that point to New York City.

These views have presented themselves to me and I have deemed them worthy of mention; by multiplying our ways of communication we render more certain the success of our operations.

I am, Colonel,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Genl., &c

Headquarters of the Army,
New York.

Lieut. Col. L. Thomas,
Asst. Adjutant General,

Adjutant General's Office,
Washington, June 20, 1856.

Bvt. Brig. Genl. W. S. Harney, U. S. A.,
Comdg. Sioux Expdtn.,
Fort Pierre, N. T.

Sir:—

I have the honor to transmit for your information, copies of a letter addressed by the Secretary of the Interior under date of the 9th instant to the Secretary of War, and the reply of the latter thereto, showing the steps that have been taken to carry

into effect the provisions of the convention made by you with the several sioux bands, and other Indians in March last.

As the objects for which the sioux expedition was created, have been accomplished, the Secretary of War directs that after completing the arrangements for the supply of the troops of your command, and posting them in such numbers, and at such points, as, in your judgment will best serve to enforce a compliance on the part of the Indians with their treaty stipulations, you close the operations of the sioux campaign and return to Fort Leavenworth, where you will receive further orders.

In relation to the positions to be occupied by the troops on the upper Missouri River, the Department will only suggest, that as far as the information it has received enables it to determine, the vicinity of the mouth of L'eau-qui-comt river, is a proper point for a military post and depot, and that it would not be advisable at this time to attempt the establishment of a Military post in advance of Fort Pierre. Between those two points, as you are better informed of the wants of the service on that line and as the Department places much reliance in your judgment, in this respect, it is left to your discretion to locate an additional post at Point Lookout, or such other place as you may select, regard being had to the strength of the troops upon the whole line, and the advantages which would result from their being kept embodied as much as possible, and not separated into small commands. The post at L'eau-qui-comt, it is conceived would be a proper position for the Dragoon companies serving with the sioux expedition.

Deputy Paymaster General Andrews, Captain Simpson Subsistence Department, and Lieutenant Warren, Corps of Topographical Engineers, if he has completed the exploration of the upper Missouri, will return with you to Fort Leavenworth, and there await further instructions.

Captain Van Vliet Quartermasters Department, will proceed to take post at Fort Brown, Texas, as heretofore ordered when relieved from duty with your command.

I have the honor to be, General,
Very respectfully, Your obt. Servant,
—S. Cooper,
Adjutant General

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Camp near mouth of Big Sioux River,
June 30th, 1856.

Colonel:

I have the honor to report that in consequence of the advanced state of the season and the arrival of the supplies for the troops on this river during the coming year, I have decided upon placing a permanent position at a point on the west side of the Missouri River, 30 miles by land above the mouth of the L'eau-qui-court River. I have caused the stores to be landed there and shall direct the movement of the troops from Fort Pierre as soon as it can be done, with the exception of two companies, which it will be necessary to retain at that place for the present, to guard the stores, &c.

I have no intention of occupying a position near Old Fort Lookout, as I understand a position for a depot is not required for Fort Laramie on this part of the river, but I shall hold a portion of the troops in readiness to be sent, should the Department so decide, to the vicinity of Long Lake, the most important point to be occupied on the river, in my opinion.

Should the Secretary accord with me in the position I have selected, I desire to suggest the name of Fort Randall as its designation—it being a token of respect to the memory of a deceased officer of our army—the highly esteemed Colonel Daniel Randall, late Deputy Paymaster General.

The temporary position of the Squadron of the 2nd Dragoons at this place I shall retain until further orders from your office.

These dispositions contemplate but two permanent Posts, the one near L'eau-qui-court, the other in the vicinity of Long Lake, and I have the honor to request the detailed instructions of the Department, on this subject at an early day.

I am Colonel,
Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—Wm. S. Harney,
Bvt. Brig. Genl. &c.

Colonel S. Cooper,
Adjutant General,
U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

Fort Randall, N. T.
July 18th, 1857.

Gentlemen:

You are hereby authorized to take charge of all buildings and other public property left at Fort Lookout, N. T. and of land extending (six) miles above and below that point by the river running back from each bank to the Bluffs, constituting the military reservation of that post.

Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—Geo. H. Paige,
Capt. & A. Q. M.

Messrs. D. M. Frost & Co.

Fort Randall, N. T.
July 18th, 1857.

Messrs. D. M. Frost & Co.,

I have the honor to inform you that the following is a correct copy of the remarks made on the map of Lieut. Warren of the reservation at Fort Pierre referred to in my communication of yesterday.

viz.

Preliminary Sketch.

Of a Survey of the Missouri River, Ft. Pierre for the purpose of laying out a reserve for that Post, made under orders from Brig. Genl. W. S. Harney, by Lieut. G. K. Warren, Top. Eng. U. S. Army aided by Paul Carrey Esq., Augt. 1855.

Scale 2 inches to the mile.

0 1 2 3

Note:—The Survey was made with a Chain & Schinalader Compass.

The positions of the corners of the reserve near Chantier & Antelope rivers are only approximate.

This Reserve as established by the order of Bvt. Lieut. Col. W. R. Montgomery, Major 2d Infantry is limited on the North by the parallel of latitude having a point 1 mile west of the mouth of the Chantier river, and on the west by the Meridian through the same point on the South by the parallel of latitude through a point 1 mile south of the mouth of Antelope river, and on the East by the Meridian through the same point.

It extends by the river 16 miles above the Fort and 12 miles below total extent along the river 28.

Its length (East & West) 22½ miles, and its breadth (north & south) 12½ miles, Area 271¼ square miles; It contains about 12 square miles of useful land, about one of which contains good building timber.

—G. K. Warren,
Lt. Top. Eng.

Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—Geo. H. Paige,
Capt. & A. Q. M.

Fort Randall, N. T.
July 17th, 1857.

Gentlemen:

The limits of the reserve at Fort Pierre over which you have control as agent on the part of the Government including that reservation of lands which were made by Lieut. Warren by order of General Harney.

You will please take charge of all Government Property which you may find on that reservation or its vicinity.

Very respectfully,
Your obdt. servant,
—Geo. H. Paige,
Capt. & A. Q. M.

Messrs. D. M. Frost & Co.
Fort Pierre.

Record Events: Fort Pierre, Nebraska Territory.

July 7, 1855. Headquarters and Company G, 2nd Infantry arrived by steamer Arabia 109 officers and men. July 12th, Company A arrived by steamer Grey Cloud—82 men, and Company I, by steamer William Baird 84 men—all under command of Captain Henry W. Wessells, 2nd Infantry; July 14th Major William R. Montgomery, 2nd Infantry, joined and assumed command.

July 31, 1855. Officers at Fort Pierre.
Major W. R. Montgomery, 2nd Infantry, Commanding.
" A. W. Gaines, Paymaster.

Assistant Surgeon, T. C. Madison.
Captain P. T. Turnley, Quartermaster.
" M. D. L. Simpson, Commissary of Subsistence.
" D. Davidson, 2nd Infantry, Commanding Company I.
1st Lieut. N. H. McLean, 2nd Infantry, Adjutant.
" " T. W. Sweeney, 2nd Infantry.
" " James Curtis, 2nd "
2nd " G. K. Warren, Topographical Engineer.
" " R. F. Hunter, 2nd Infantry.

August 2, 1855. Company B, 2nd Infantry—1 officer, Captain Nathaniel Lyon, and 37 men, and Company C, 35 men, joined by steamer Clara. August 19th, Company D, 2 officers, Captain Wm. M. Gardner, 2nd Lieut. J. D. O'Connell and 80 men, joined by steamer Genoa.

September 16, 1855. Captain C. S. Lovell, 2nd Infantry, arrived and assumed command, relieving Major Montgomery, ordered to Fort Leavenworth.

October 31, 1855. General W. S. Harney and staff arrived October 19th and Fort Pierre becomes Headquarters of the Sioux Expedition, which included the following troops:

Camp 2nd Dragoons, Troops D and H	141	Off. & men.
" " " " E and K	111	" "
Ft. Pierre, Cos. A, B, C, D, G and I, 2nd Infy.	410	" "
Camp 6th Infantry, Cos. A, E, H and K	235	" "
Aggregate	897.	" "

November 6, 1855. Companies B, D and I, 2nd Infantry—3 officers and 205 men left Post and encamped at a point on the east bank of the Missouri, 7½ miles above Fort Pierre, under command of Captain Gardner, to which is given the name Cantonment Miller. Company C, encamped at Farm Island, Missouri River, below the Post same date, Captain Wessells in command of Fort Pierre.

May 25, 1856. Colonel Francis Lee, 2nd Infantry, arrived and assumed command, strength of garrison May 31st, 19 officers and 447 men.

July 28, 1856. Companies C and I left for Fort Randall, and Headquarters and Companies B and D, left for Fort Lookout, leaving Companies A and G and detachments, 6 offi-

cers and 169 men, under command of 1st Lieutenant J. D. O'Connell, R. Q. M.

August 3, 1856. Captain C. S. Lovell, 2nd Infantry, arrived and assumed command.

September 26, 1856. Company F, Captain Alfred Sully and 2nd Lieut. R. F. Hunter, with 39 men joined and Company G, 75 men left for Fort Randall. Garrison now consists of Companies A and F, 2nd Infantry, 6 officers and 110 men under command of Captain Lovell.

May 16, 1857. Troops left for Fort Randall on board steamer D. H. Morton and post abandoned in accordance with General Orders 1, Headquarters of the Army, March 2, 1857.

Asst. Qr. Master's office, Fort Pierre, N. T.,
November, 1855.

Sir:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 29th August last, referring to my letter to your office dated 20 July previous, and also to my letters to Maj. Vinton, dated 20, 24 and 28 July and 2d August, copies of which had been placed before you.

No person can regret so much as I do, that I should have been the means of placing the Department in doubt as to what it could depend upon for the support of the troops and animals which it had contemplated to have wintered at Fort Pierre. To do the very opposite of this, and to give the most correct and timely information, has been my honest and unceasing effort. That my letters are contradictory on the subject referred to, in the proper and fair sense of the term, I cannot admit. That a variety of views, hopes, fears and expectations, as well as suggestions, were advanced by me, is not only apparent, but absolutely true; and I hope I am not mistaken in saying that such was quite natural under the circumstances. I thank you sincerely for the caution you give me for the future, in making official reports. If your caution refers to contradictory statements or to a deviation from facts, I deny the imputation. If it refers to a pertness in the style of my letters, I acknowledge the fault; it is an error I often fall into when trying to save the patience and time of my readers; when I desire to save them

from the unpleasant task of wading through a rigmarole of descriptions "may be so's" and "probabilities" to arrive at but little in the end. I shall not cease to try to correct this fault, it leads to common place expressions and language, such as I am sorry to have placed in official letters. I have used in those letters language unnecessarily pert, to be brief and yet forcible; I ought not to have done it, would not have done so, had I presumed those letters would have gone further than their address (or even copies of them). Nevertheless I must beg leave, most respectfully, to disagree with you, as to the non-necessity of calling my atention to particulars, I deem it altogether necessary to my own peace of mind, if for nothing else, that my attention be directed particularly, to the statement which you have found thus contradictory in my letters.

Fort Lookout

In the spring of 1825 Brigadier General Henry Atkinson, United States Army, and Major Benjamin O'Fallon, Indian Agent, were appointed Commissioners to hold treaties of trade and friendship with the Indian tribes beyond the Mississippi. They left Fort Atkinson at Council Bluffs on the 16th of May, 1825, with an escort of 476 men, ascended the Missouri, and on the 17th of June arrived at "Fort Lookout, a position occupied by the American Fur Company, twenty miles below the Grand Bend on the right bank of the river" and on the 22d concluded a treaty with the Tetons, Yanctons and Yanctonies.

See Report of the Commissioners to the Secretary of War dated St. Louis, November 7, 1825, in State Papers Indian Affairs, vol. 2, p. 605.

Record of Events Fort Lookout, Nebraska Territory.

June 3, 1856. Companies D and H, 2nd Dragoons arrived from old Cedar Fort. Captain L. P. Graham, 1st Lieutenant S. H. Starr, Company D. 2nd Lieutenant J. B. Villepique Company H. They left August 3, 1856 for Fort Randall. No Returns; Nothing in Letter Receive Books.

July 31, 1856. Headquarters and Companies C and I, 2nd Infantry arrived from Fort Pierre en route to Fort Randall—under command of Captain H. H. Davis, 2nd Infantry 161 officers and men. Companies B and D, 2nd Infantry ar-

rived from Cantonment Miller same date under command of Captain W. M. Gardner, 2nd Infantry, 117 officers and men.

August 31, 1856. Companies C and I, left on the 2nd. Captain N. Lyon, 2nd Infantry joined on the 3rd and assumed command. Present 31st, Captain Lyon, Captain W. M. Gardner, 1st Lieutenant Geo. H. Paige Company D and Assistant Surgeon D. L. Magruder 4 officers and 157 men.

October 31, 1856. Companies E, G, H and K, 2nd Infantry arrived October 2nd at 2.40 P. M. Companies H and K remained at Post. Companies E and G resumed the march to Fort Randall October 3rd. Lieutenant Colonel Abercrombie arrived 3rd and assumed command, but left on the 6th turning over command to Captain G. W. Patten. 2d Lieutenants W. C. Spencer Company K, and W. Lee Company H commanding Companies. Strength 31st 5 officers and 245 men. Garrison B, D, H and K, 2d Infantry.

June 17, 1857. Entire garrison left for Fort Randall, abandoning Post, (as per Regimental Return.) No Post Return later than May 31st.

Headquarters Sioux Expedition,
Camp near Mouth of Big Sioux River,
July 10th, 1856.

Orders
No. 16.

1....In compliance with instructions from the War Department, the following disposition of Troops on the Upper Missouri River will be carried into effect without delay (Viz:)

1st. The two squadrons of the 2nd Dragoons ("D", "E", "H" & "K" Companies) at the position called Fort Randall, about thirty miles by land above the mouth of L'eau-qui-court River, on the West side of the Missouri.

2nd... The 2nd Infantry to be distributed as follows: The Head Quarters of the Regiment, and four Companies at Fort Randall. Four Companies to establish a Post at Fort Lookout. Two Companies to garrison Fort Pierre.

II....The Companies of the 2nd Infantry will be assigned to the Stations above indicated by the Colonel, who will give

such instructions and Orders as shall be necessary to place them in position.

The Lieut. Colonel of the 2nd Infantry will take Post at Fort Lookout, the Senior Major at Fort Pierre, and the Junior Major at Fort Randall.

The squadron of Dragoons now at Fort Lookout will be relieved at once by two Companies of the 2nd Infantry, and proceed by land to Fort Randall.

III....Assistant Surgeon H. Madison is assigned to duty at Fort Randall—Assistant Surgeon D. L. Magruder to Fort Lookout and Assistant Surgeon N. S. Crowell to Fort Pierre.

* * * *

By Order of Bvt. Brig. General Harney.

(Signed) —A. Pleasanton,
Captain 2nd Dragoons,
Assistant Adjutant General.

Head Quarters, 2nd Infantry,

Fort Pierre, N. T., July 20th, 1856.

Orders
No. 43.

In compliance with Orders No. 16 dated Head Quarters Sioux Expedition July 10th 1856, the Second Infantry is assigned to Station as follows: viz:

Fort Randall.

The Head Quarters of the Regiment
Colonel F. Lee,
Major S. Burbank,
1st Lieut. N. H. McLean, Adjutant.
2nd Lieut. J. D. O'Connell, R. Q. M.

The Non-Commissioned Staff, Band and Companies "C", "E", "G" & "I".

Fort Lookout.

Lieut. Colonel I. I. Abercrombie,
Companies "B", "D", "H" & "K".

Fort Pierre.

Major H. Day,
Companies "A" & "F".

* * * *

Captain W. M. Gardner with Companies "B" & "D" will

proceed at once to Fort Lookout to relieve the Squadron of Dragoons now at that Post;

* * * *

As it is desirable to get the Regiment Stationed as indicated as soon as possible all the movements herein directed will be made without delay.

By Order of Colonel Lee.

(Signed) —N. H. McLean,
1st Lieut. & Adjt. 2d Infy.

Head Quarters Battalion 2nd Infantry,
Camp near Fort Lookout, N. T.,
August 3rd 1856.

Orders
No. 57.

I....The point contemplated in Orders No. 16 of Head Quarters Sioux Expedition as the Site of a Military Post in this vicinity will be immediately occupied by the portion of the Troops now here, designed for it and the undersigned hereby assumes Command thereof and directs that the name of the Station be continued (in the absence of orders to the contrary) as "Fort Lookout" by which it will hereafter be known.

* * * *

N. Lyon,
Captain 2nd Infantry,
Commanding.

Fort Lookout, N. T.,
September 1st 1856.

Sir:

Herewith enclosed I respectfully transmit the Post Return of the Troops stationed at this Post for the last Month with the exception of the Squadron of Dragoons under Major Graham, which left its Camp in this vicinity on the 3rd ultimo. I enclose also copies of the Orders concerning the establishment of this Post and the Troops to occupy it and a small map indicating this locality—the map being traced from one published in 1850 from the Topographical Bureau, and which, for so general a map, is very accurate in respect to this region of country, so far as I have observed.

As soon as any means are obtained for surveying the site

selected for this Post and the grounds in its immediate vicinity, I will cause a sketch of it to be sent to your office, and would report, in the meantime, that it is upon an elevation gently sloping towards the river, which runs and affords good landing near the foot of it, at the point where the Steamer "Goddin" landed her freight, and is well adapted to the buildings, wanted, without any artificial grading.

The ordering wants of a Military post such as timber, fuel and grass are tolerably convenient.

The Department is doubtless aware that Colonel Abercrombie, with Companies "H" & "K", 2nd Infantry, designed for this Post, has not arrived, and by the latest intelligence from Fort Ridgely he had not left that Post.

Our nearest Post Office is Sioux City, Iowa, about 200 miles distant with which semi-monthly communications have heretofore been made, but it is in contemplation to establish four mails a month to and from that place via Fort Randall.

Very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
—N. Lyon,
Captain 2nd Infantry,
Commanding the Post.

Colonel S. Cooper,
Adjutant General,
Washington, D. C.

Hd. Qrs. Battn. 2nd Infantry,
Fort Lookout, N. T.
October 3, 1856.

Colonel:

I have the honor to report that after a tedious and somewhat hazardous march I arrived at the Missouri opposite Fort Pierre on the 23rd ultimo with Companies "E", "F", "H" and "K" 2d Infy. and after great difficulty in crossing the Wagons and animals reached the Fort five days thereafter. It affords me much gratification to say the command enjoyed fine health,—there being but few cases on the sick report and these merely contusions or sore feet.

At this season of the year there is scarcely a stick of wood and but little water to be found from the James river to the Mis-

souri a distance of 80 or 90 miles.—A little later in the season, and I doubt if we could have reached the Missouri without losing a large portion of our cattle as most of the water holes would in all probability have been entirely dry. As it was, owing to the distance we had sometimes to travel without water the animals suffered a good deal. Horse or mule teams with light wagons I should think might cross at any time of the year, as the road is naturally one of the best I ever passed over. As an evidence of this the only accidents that occurred during the whole march was the loss of three oxen, the breaking of two tongues and the upsetting—through bad management—of one wagon.

The viometer makes the distance 310 miles, making deduction for slight deviations, I may be justified in putting it down at 300. I shall as soon as it can be completed by Capt. Sully forward a sketch of our route with the distance travelled every day, water courses intervening and such other features of this dreary region of country as may be of use hereafter.

On the 29th ultimo I resumed my march for Fort Lookout with Companies 'E'" "G" "A" and "K" leaving Compy. "F" at Fort Pierre in place of Compy. "G" by Colonel Lee's order of the 20th July and arrived at this post this day. Companies "E" & "G" leave on the 5th inst. for Fort Randall to which post they have been assigned by Colonel Lee.

Very respectfully,
Your obt. Servant,
—J. J. Abercrombie,
Lt. Col. 2d Inf. Commanding.

Col. S. Cooper,
Adjt. General U. S. A.
Washington, D. C.

Old Fort George

On the Military map of Nebraska and Dakota made by Lieut. G. K. Warren, Topographical Engineers, and published in 1859, and on many maps of subsequent dates, appears the name "Old Fort George," at a point on the west bank of the Missouri, opposite the mouth of a stream put down as Wigo-Paha-Wakpa or East Medicine Knoll River. This point is apparently 10

miles above Spar Island, 10 below Farm Island and about 20 below Fort Pierre.

There is but one Return of this Post on file. It is dated July 31, 1855, and signed by Capt. H. W. Wessells, 2nd Infantry and contains the following remarks "Post Return of Fort George, N. T. 20 miles below Fort Pierre." "This post having been purchased by the Quartermasters Department was temporarily occupied on the 15th July by Co. "G" 2nd Infantry for the purpose of removing the buildings when no longer required for the public service and to store such public property as might be discharged from overloaded boats on their way to Fort Pierre."

In a letter from the Commanding Officer at Fort Pierre reporting his arrival dated July 31, 1855, he remarks "In consequence of the low stage of water in the Missouri—the public transports, destined for the Post, have been compelled, to discharge the public Stores at various points along the river—and guards necessarily left, to take charge of the same;—consequently the arrival of the troops at this post, has been protracted, and in detachments. * * * On the 15th instant Major Wessells, with his Company, was temporarily detached to Fort George to receive any public stores the transports might be compelled to discharge, at that point, and if the buildings there should not be required for that purpose to take them down preparatory to their material being transported to this post, for the construction of public store-houses &c., here."

It further appears from remarks of Lieut. Warren, Topographical Enigneers, the officer who surveyed the vicinity in order to lay off a reservation, that in August 1855 one Dupuis was camped not far from the mouth of the Cheyenne "with the party formerly at Fort George."

Although it would appear from the foregoing that the Government had purchased certain buildings, etc., at a point on the river known as Fort George, thus causing the removal of the occupants—evidently traders and trappers—and removed the material of which they were constructed to Fort Pierre, nothing can be found of record regarding such purchase, from whom purchased, or the final disposition of the establishment.

Magnolia, Mass.
June 10, 1897.

Col. J. C. Gilmore,
Asst. Adjt. Genl. U. S. Army,
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

Referring to your letter of May 26th concerning Old Fort George, on the Missouri river, 20 miles below Fort Pierre, I would respectfully state that I received the letter on the eve of my departure from St. Louis, so could not personally make the enquiries suggested.

I turned your letter & accompanying papers over to Mr. Pierre Chouteau, who promised to make the enquiries requested & to communicate the result to you.

I saw Mr. Charles P. Chouteau on the subject, who stated that he remembered Old Fort George; that it was an establishment of three traders named Preman, Harvey & Boise, a sort of opposition establishment to Fort Pierre. It was an insignificant affair, consisting of a few huts & not stockaded nor fortified at all. The business of the establishment was soon absorbed by the Chouteau Co. the men themselves (Preman, Harvey & Boise) entering into the employ of the Chouteau Co. Mr. Chouteau does not remember the dates. He has no recollection of the place itself ever having come into the possession of the Chouteau Co. (only the business) & he has no recollection of its acquirement or occupation by the Government.

Mr. Pierre Chouteau will undoubtedly soon put you in possession of more information, from Capt. LaBarge & other sources. Should you not hear from Mr. Chouteau shortly please let me know & I will remind him of the matter.

Very respectfully,

—D. D. Johnson,
1st Lt. U. S. Army, Retired.

APPENDIX

Text of Several Treaties Ceding Land

APPENDIX

Text of Several Treaties Ceding Lands

The fact that there are still pending many claims and suits, some of them aggregating millions of dollars, brought by the several tribes of Indians, growing out of the relinquishment to the government of the Dakota lands, has induced the publication herewith of the text of the several treaties of cession.

A

TREATY OF TRAVERSE DES SIOUX, 1851

This Treaty Opened All of Dakota East of Sioux River

Millard Fillmore, President of the United States of America, to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas a treaty was made and concluded at Traverse des Sioux, in the Territory of Minnesota, on the twenty-third day of July, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-one, between the United States of America, by Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and Alexander Ramsey, governor and ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs in said Territory, acting as commissioners, and the See-see-toan and Wah-pay-toan bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians, which treaty is in the words following, to-wit:

Articles of a treaty made and concluded at Traverse des Sioux upon the Minnesota River, in the Territory of Minnesota, on the twenty-third day of July, eighteen hundred and fifty-one, between the United States of America, by Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs and Alexander Ramsey, governor and ex-officio superintendent of Indian affairs in said Territory, commissioners duly appointed for that purpose, and the See-see-toan and Wah-pay-toan bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians.

Article 1. It is stipulated and solemnly agreed that the peace and friendship now so happily existing between the United States and the aforesaid bands of Indians shall be perpetual.

Article 2. The said See-see-toan and Wah-pay-toan bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians agree to cede, and do hereby cede, sell, and relinquish to the United States, all their lands in the State of Iowa, and also all their lands in the Territory of Minnesota lying east of the following line, to-wit: Beginning at the junction of the Buffalo River with the Red River of the North; thence along the western bank of said Red River of

the North to the mouth of the Sioux Wood River; thence along the western bank of said Sioux Wood River to Lake Traverse; thence along the western shore of said lake to the southern extremity thereof; thence in a direct line to the junction of Kampeska Lake with the Tchan-kas-an-data, or Sioux River; thence along the western bank of said river to its point of intersection with the northern line of the State of Iowa, including all the islands in said rivers and lake.

Article 3. Stricken out. (See supplemental article, this treaty.)

Article 4. In further and in full consideration of said cession, the United States agrees to pay to said Indians the sum of one million six hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars ($1,665,000) at the several times, in the manner, and for the purposes following, to-wit:

1st. To the chiefs of the said bands, to enable them to settle their affairs and comply with their present just engagement, and in consideration of their removing themselves to the country set apart for them as above, which they agree to do within two years, or sooner, if required by the President, without further cost or expense to the United States, and in consideratiaon of their subsisting themselves the first year after their removal, which they agree to do without further cost or expense on the part of the United States, the sum of two hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars, ($275,000): Provided, That said sum shall be paid to the chiefs in such manner as they hereafter in open council shall request, and as soon after the removal of said Indians to the home set apart for them as the necessary appropriation therefor shall be made by Congress.

2d. To be laid out under the direction of the President for the establishment of manual-labor schools, the erection of mills and blacksmith shops, opening farms, fencing and breaking land, and for such other beneficial objects as may be deemed most conducive to the prosperity and happiness of said Indians, thirty thousand dollars ($30,000).

The balance of said sum of one million six hundred and sixty-five thousand dollars ($1,665,000), to-wit: one million three hundred and sixty thousand dollars ($1,360,000) to remain in trust with the United States and five per cent interest thereon to be paid annually to said Indians, for the period of fifty years, commencing the first day of July, eighteen hundred and fifty-two (1852), which shall be in full payment of said balance, principal and interest, the said payment to be applied, under the direction of the President, as follows, to-wit:

3d. For a general agricultural improvement and civilization fund, the sum of twelve thousand dollars ($12,000).

4th. For educational purposes, the sum of six thousand dollars ($6,000).

5th. For the purchase of goods and provisions, the sum of ten thousand dollars ($10,000).

6th. For money annuity, the sum of forty thousand dollars ($40,000).

Article 5. The laws of the United States prohibiting the introduction and sale of spirituous liquors in the Indian country shall be in full force and effect throughout the territory hereby ceded and lying in Minnesota until otherwise directed by congress or the president of the United States.

Article 6. Rules and regulations to protect the rights of persons and property among the Indians, parties to this treaty, and adapted to their condtions and wants, may be prescribed and enforced in such manner as the President or the Congress of the United States, from time to time, shall direct.

SUPPLEMENTAL ARTICLE

1st. The United States do hereby stipulate to pay the Sioux bands of Indians, parties to this treaty, at the rate of ten cents per acre, for

the lands included in the reservation provided for in the third article of the treaty as originally agreed upon in the following words:

"Article 3. In part consideration of the foregoing cession, the United States do hereby set apart for the future occupancy and home of the Dakota Indians, parties to this treaty, to be held by them as Indian lands are held, all that tract of country on either side of the Minnesota River, from the western boundary of the lands herein ceded, east, to the Tchay-tam-bay Rver on the north, and to Yellow Medicine River on the south side, to extend on each side a distance of not less than ten miles from the general course of said river, the boundaries of said tract to be marked out by as straight lines as practicable, whenever deemed expedient by the President, and in such manner as he shall direct;" which article has been stricken out of the treaty by the senate, the said payment to be in lieu of said reservation; the amount, when ascertained, under instructions from the Department of the Interior, to be added to the trust fund provided for in the fourth article.

2d. It is further stipulated that the President be authorized, with the assent of the said bands of Indians, parties to this treaty, and as soon after they shall have given their assent to the foregoing article as may be convenient, to cause to be set apart, by appropriate landmarks and boundaries, such tracts of country without the limits of the cession made by the first (2d) article of the treaty as may be satisfactory for their future occupancy and home: Provided, That the President may, by the consent of these Indians, vary the conditions aforesaid, if demed expedient.

Proclaimed February 24, 1853.

TREATIES ABROGATED

After the outbreak of 1862, congress on February 16, 1863, passed the following act:

That all treaties heretofore made and entered into by the Sisseton, Wahpaton, Medawakanton, and Wahpakoota bands of Sioux or Dakota Indians, or any of them, with the United States, are hereby declared to be abrogated and annulled, so far as said treaties or any of them purport to impose any future obligation on the United States, and all lands and rights of occupancy within the State of Minnesota, and all annuities and claims heretofore accorded to said Indians, or any of them, to be forfeited to the United States.

B

THE YANKTON TREATY, 1858

This Treaty Opened Lands Between Sioux and Missouri as Far North as Line From Pierre to Watertown

Treaty between the United States of America and the Yancton tribe of Sioux or Dacotah Indians, concluded at Washington April 19, 1858; ratified by the Senate February 16, 1859.

James Buchanan, President of the United States of America, to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas a treaty was made and concluded at the city of Washington on the nineteenth day of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, by Charles E. Mix, as a commissioner on the part of the United States, and the following-named chiefs and delegates of the Yancton tribe of Sioux or Dacotah Indians, viz:

Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe, the man that was struck by the Ree.

Ma-to-sa-be-che-a, the smutty bear.

Charles F. Picotte, Et-ke-cha.
Ta-ton-ka-wete-co, the crazy bull.
Pse-cha-wa-kea, the jumping thunder.
Ma-ra-ha-ton, the iron horn
Nombe-kah-pah, one that knocks down two.
Ta-ton-ka-e-yah-ka, the fast bull.
A-ha-ka-ma-ne, the walking elk.
A-ha-ka-na-zhe, the standing elk.
A-ha-ka-ho-che-cha, the elk with a bad voice.
Cha-ton-wo-ka-pa, the grabbing hawk.
E-ha-we-cha-sha, the owl man.
Pla-son-wa-kan-na-ge, the white medicine cow that stands.
Ma-ga-scha-che-ka, the little white swan.
Oke-che-la-wash-ta, the pretty boy.

They being thereto duly authorized by said tribe, which treaty is in the following words, to-wit:

Articles of agreement and convention made and concluded at the city of Washington, this nineteenth day of April, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and fifty-eight, by Charles E. Mix, commissioner on the part of the United States, and the following-named chiefs and delegates of the Yancton tribe of Sioux or Dacotah Indians, viz:

Pa-la-ne-a-pa-pe, the man that was struck by the Ree.
Ma-to-sa-be-che-a, the smutty bear.
Charles F. Picotte, Eta-ke-cha.
Ta-ton-ka-wete-co, the crazy bull.
Pse-cha-wa-kea, the jumping thunder.
Ma-ra-ha-ton, the iron horn.
Nombe-kah-pah, one that knocks down two.
Ta-ton-ka-e-yáh-ka, the fast bull.
A-ha-ka-ma-ne, the walking elk.
A-ha-ka-na-zhe, the standing elk.
A-ha-ka-ho-che-cha, the elk with a bad voice.
Cha-ton-wo-ka-pa, the grabbing hawk.
E-ha-we-cha-sha, the owl man.
Pla-son-wa-kan-na-ge, the white medicine cow that stands.
Ma-ga-scha-che-ka, the little white swan.
Oke-che-la-wash-ta, the pretty boy.

(The three last named signed by their duly authorized agent and representative, Charles F. Picotte,) they being thereto duly authorized and empowered by said tribe of Indians.

Article 1. The said chiefs and delegates of said tribe of Indians do hereby cede and relinquish to the United States all the lands now owned, possessed, or claimed by them wherever situated, except four hundred thousand acres thereof situated and described as follows, to-wit: Beginning at the mouth of the Naw-izi-wa-koo-pah or Chouteau River and extending up the Missouri River thirty miles; thence due north to a point; thence easterly to a point on the said Chouteau River; thence down said river to the place of beginning, so as to include the said quantity of four hundred thousand acres. They also hereby relinquish and abandon all claims and complaints about or growing out of any and all treaties heretofore made by them or other Indians, except their annuity rights under the treaty of Laramie of September 17, A. D. 1851.

N. B.—This treaty of Laramie is understood not to have been ratified, and is not in print; it is given at the end of the volume.

Article 2. The land so ceded and relinquished by the said chiefs and delegates of the said tribe of Yanctons is and shall be known and described as follows, to-wit:

"Beginning at the mouth of the Tchan-kas-an-data or Calumet or

Big Sioux River; thence up the Missouri River to the mouth of the Pa-hah-wa-kan or East Medicine Knoll River; thence up said river to its head; thence in a direction to the head of the main fork of the Wandush-kah-for or Snake River; thence down said river to its junction with the Tchan-san-san or Jaques or James River; thence in a direct line to the northern point of Lake Kampeska; thence along the northern shore of said lake and its outlet to the junction of said outlet with the Big Sioux River; thence down the Big Sioux River to its junction with the Missouri River."

And they also cede and relinquish to the United States all their right title to and in all the islands of the Missouri River, from the mouth of the Big Sioux to the mouth of the Medicine Knoll River.

And the said chiefs and delegates hereby stipulate and agree that all the lands embraced in said limits are their own, and that they have full and exclusive right to cede and relinquish the same to the United States

Article 3. The said chiefs and delegates hereby further stipulate and agree that the United States may construct and use roads as may be hereafter necessary across their said reservation by the consent and permission of the Secretary of the Interior, and by first paying the said Indians all damages and the fair value of the land so used for said road or roads, which said damages and value shall be determined in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior may direct. And the said Yanctons hereby agree to remove and settle and reside on said reservation within one year from this date, and, until they do so remove, (if within said year,) the United States guarantee them in the quiet and undisturbed possession of their present settlements.

Article 4. In consideration of the foregoing cession, relinquishment, and agreements, the United States do hereby agree and stipulate as follows, to-wit:

1st. To protect the said Yanctons in the quiet and peaceable possession of the said tract of four hundred thousand acres of land so reserved for their future home, and also their persons and property thereon during good behavior on their part.

2d. To pay to them, or expend for their benefit, the sum of sixty-five thousand dollars per annum, for ten years, commencing with the year in which they shall remove to and settle and reside upon their said reservation; forty thousand dollars per annum for and during ten years thereafter; twenty-five thousand dollars per annum for and during ten years thereafter; and fifteen thousand dollars per annum for and during twenty years thereafter; making one million and six hundred thousand dollars in annuities in the period of fifty years, of which sums the President of the United States shall, from time to time, determine what portion shall be paid to said Indians in cash, and what proportion shall be expended for their benefit, and also in what manner and for what objects such expenditure shall be made, due regard being had in making such determination to the best interests of said Indians. He shall likewise exercise the power to make such provision out of said sums as he may deem to be nesessary and proper for the support and comfort of the aged or infirm and helpless orphans of the said Indians. In case of any material decrease of said Indians in number the said amounts may, in the discretion of the President of the United States, be diminished and reduced in proportion thereto; or they may, at the discretion of the President of the United States, be discontinued entirely, should said Indians fail to make reasonable and satisfactory efforts to advance and improve their condition, in which case such other provisions shall be made for them as the President and Congrass may judge to be suitable and proper.

3d. In addition to the foregoing sum of one million six hundred thousand dollars as annuities to be paid to or expended for the benefit of said Indians during the period of fifty years, as before stated, the United States hereby stipulate and agree to expend for their benefit the sum of fifty thousand dollars more, as follows, to-wit: Twenty-five thousand dollars in maintaining and subsisting the said Indians during the first year after their removal to and permanent settlement upon their said reservation, in the purchase of stock, agricultural implements, or other articles of a beneficial character, and in breaking up and fencing land; in the erection of houses, store-houses, or other needful buildings, or in making such other improvements as may be necessary for their comfort and welfare.

4th. To expend ten thousand dollars to build a school-house or school-houses, and to establish and maintain one or more normal-labor schools (so far as said sum will go) for the education and training of the children of said Indians in letters, agriculture, the mechanics arts, and housewifery, which school or schools shall be managed and conducted in such manner as the Secretary of the Interior shall direct. The said Indians hereby stipulating to keep constantly thereat during at least nine months in the year, all their children between the ages of seven and eighteen years; and if any of the parents, or others having the care of children, shall refuse or neglect to send them to school, such parts of their annuities as the Secretary of the Interior may direct, shall be withheld from them and applied as he may deem just and proper; and such further sum, in addition to the said ten thousand dollars, as shall be deemed necessary and proper by the President of the United States, shall be reserved and taken from their said annuities and applied annually during the pleasure of the President to the support of said schools, and to furnish said Indians with assistance and aid and instruction in agricultural and mechanical pursuits, including the working of the mills, hereafter mentioned, as the Secretary of the Interior may consider necessary and advantageous for said Indians; and all instruction in reading shall be in the English language. And the said Indians hereby stipulate to furnish from amongst themselves the number of young men that may be required as apprentices and assistants in the mills and mechanic shops, and at least three persons to work constantly with each white laborer employed for them in agriculture and mechanical pursuits, it being understood that such white laborers and assistants as may be so employed are thus employed more for the instruction of the said Indians than merely to work for their benefit; and that the laborers so to be furnished by the Indians may be allowed a fair and just compensation for their services, to be fixed by the Secretary of the Interior and to be paid out of the shares of annuity of such Indians as are able to work but refuse or neglect to do so. And whenever the President of the United States shall become satisfied of a failure on the part of said Indians to fulfil the aforesaid stipulations he may, at his discretion, discontinue the allowance and expenditure of the sums so provided and set apart for said school or schools and assistance and instruction.

5th. To provide the said Indians with a mill suitable for grinding grain and sawing timber; one or more mechanic shops, with the necessary tools for the same; and dwelling-houses for an interpreter, miller, engineer for the mill, (if one be necessary,) a farmer, and the mechanics that may be employed for their benefit, and to expend therfor a sum not exceeding fifteen thousand dollars.

Article 5. Said Indians further stipulate and bind themselves to prevent any of the members of their tribe from destroying or injuring the said houses, shops, mills, machinery, stock, farming-utensils, or any other thing furnished them by the Government, and in case of any such

destruction or injury of any of the things so furnished, or their being carried off by any member or members of their tribe, the value of the same shall be deducted from their general annuity; and whenever the Secretry of the Interior shall be satisfied that said Indians have become sufficiently confirmed in habits of industry and advanced in the acquisition of a practical knowledge of agriculture and the mechanic arts to provide for themselves, he may, at his discretion, cause to be turned over to them all of the said houses and other property furnished them by the United States, and dispense with the services of any or all persons hereinbefore stipulated to be employed for their benefit, assistance, and instruction.

Article 6. It is hereby agreed and understood that the chiefs and head-men of said tribe may, at their discretion, in open council, authorize to be paid out of their said annuities such a sum or sums as may be found to be necessary and proper, not exceeding in the aggregate one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, to satisfy their just debts and obligations, and to provide for such of their half-breed relations as do not live with them, or draw any part of the said annuities of said Indians: Provided, however, That their said determinations shall be approved by their agent for the time being and the said payments authorized by the Secretary of the Interior: Provided, also, That there shall not be so paid out of their said annuities in any one year a sum exceeding fifteen thousand dollars.

Article 7. On account of their valuable services and liberality to the Yanctons, there shall be granted in fee to Charles F. Picotte and Zephyr Rencontre, each, one section of six hundred and forty acres of land; and to Paul Dorian one-half a section; and to the half-breed Yancton, wife of Charles Reulo, and her two sisters, the wives of Eli Bedaud and Augustus Traverse, and to Louis Le Count, each, one-half a section. The said grants shall be selected in said ceded territory, and shall not be within said reservation, nor shall they interfere in any way with the improvements of such persons as are on the lands ceded above by authority of law; and all other persons (other than Indians or mixed-bloods) who are now residing within said ceded country, by authority of law, shall have the privilege of entering one hundred and sixty acres thereof, to include each of their residences or improvements, at the rate of one dollar and twenty-five cents per acre.

Article 8. The said Yancton Indians shall be secured in the free and unrestricted use of the red pipe-stone quarry, or so much thereof as they have been accustomed to frequent and use for the purpose of procuring stone for pipes; and the United States hereby stipulate and agree to cause to be surveyed and marked so much thereof as shall be necessary and proper for that purpose, and retain the same and keep it open and free to the Indians to visit and procure stone for pipes so long as they shall desire.

Article 9. The United States shall have the right to establish and maintain such military posts, roads, and Indian agencies as may be deemed necessary within the tract of country herein reserved for the use of the Yanctons; but no greater quantity of land or timber shall be used for said purposes than shall be actually requisite; and if, in the establishment or maintenance of such posts, roads, and agencies the property of any Yancton shall be taken, injured, or destroyed, just and adequate compensation shall be made therefor by the United States.

Article 10. No white person, unless in the employment of the United States, or duly licensed to trade with the Yanctons, or members of the families of such persons, shall be permitted to reside or make any settlement upon any part of the tract herein reserved for said Indians, nor shall said Indians alienate, sell, or in any manner dispose

of any portion thereof except to the United States. Whenever the Secretary of the Interior shall direct, said tract shall be surveyed and divided as he shall think proper among said Indians, so as to give to each head of a family or single person a separate farm, with such rights of possession or transfer to any other member of the tribe or of descent to their heirs and representatives as he may deem just.

Article 11. The Yanctons acknowledge their dependence upon the Government of the United States, and do hereby pledge and bind themslves to preserve friendly relations with the citizens thereof, and to commit no injuries or depredations on their persons or property, nor on those of members of any other tribe or nation of Indians and in case of any such injuries or depredations by said Yanctons, full compensation shall, as far as possible, be made therefor out of their tribal annuities, the amount in all cases to be determined by the Secretary of the Interior. They further pledge themselves not to engage in hostilities with any other tribe or nation, unless in self-defense, but to submit, through their agent, all matters of dispute and difficulty between themselves and other Indians for the decision of the President of the United States, and to acquiesce in and abide thereby. They also agree to deliver to the proper officer of the United States all offenders against the treaties, laws, or regulations of the United States, and to assist in discovering, pursuing, and capturing all such offenders who may be within the limits of their reservation whenever required to do so by such officer.

Article 12. To aid in preventing the evils of intemperance, it is hereby stipulated that if any of the Yanctons shall drink, or procure for others, intoxicating liquor, their proportion of the tribal annuities shall be withheld from them for at least one year; and for a violation of any of the stipulations of this agreement on the part of the Yanctons, they shall be liable to have their annuities withheld, in whole or in part, and for such length of time as the President of the United States shall direct.

Article 13. No part of the annuities of the Yanctons shall be taken to pay any debts, claims, or demands against them, except such existing claims and demands as have been herein provided for, and except such as may arise under this agreement, or under the trade and intercourse laws of the United States.

Article 14. The said Yanctons do hereby fully acquit and release the United States from all demands against them on the part of said tribe, or any individual thereof, except the before-mentioned right of the Yanctons to receive an annuity under said treaty of Laramie, and except, also, such as are herein stipulated and provided for.

Article 15. For the special benefit of the Yanctons, parties to this agreement, the United States agree to appoint an agent for them, who shall reside on their said reservation, and shall have set apart for his sole use and occupation, at such a point as the Secretary of the Interior may direct, one hundred and sixty acres of land.

Article 16. All the expenses of the making of this agreement, and of surveying the said Yancton reservation, and of surveying and marking said pipe-stone quarry, shall be paid by the United States.

Article 17. This instrument shall take effect and be obligatory upon the contracting parties whenever ratified by the Senate and the President of the United States.

Proclaimed February 26, 1859.

C

NEW TREATY OF 1867

Cedes All Lands Outside Lake Traverse Reservation Claimed by Sissetons and Wahpetons

Whereas it is understood that a portion of the Sissiton and Warpeton bands of Santee Sioux Indians, numbering from twelve hundred to fifteen hundred persons, not only preserved their obligations to the Government of the United States during and since the outbreak of the Medewakantons and other bands of Sioux, in 1862, but freely periled their lives during that outbreak to rescue the residents on the Sioux reservation, and to obtain possession of white women and children made captives by the hostile bands and that another portion of said Sissiton and Warpeton bands, numbering from one thousand to twelve hundred persons, who did not participate in the massacre of the whites in 1862, fearing the indiscriminate vengeance of the whites, fled to the great prairies of the Northwest, where they still remain; and

Whereas Congress, in confiscating the Sioux annuities and reservations, made no provision for the support of these, the friendly portion of the Sissiton and Warpeton bands, and it is believed [that] they have been suffered to remain homeless wanderers, frequently subject to intense suffering from want of subsistence, and clothing to protect them from the rigors of a high northern latitude, although at all times prompt in rendering service when called upon to repel hostile raids and to punish depredations committed by hostile Indians upon the persons and property of the whites; and

Whereas the several subdivisions of the friendly Sissitons and Warpeton bands ask, through their representatives, that their adherence to their former obligations of friendship to the Government and people of the United States be recognized, and that provision be made to enable them to return to an agricultural life, and be relieved from a dependence upon the chase for a precarious subsistence: Therefore

A treaty has been made and entered into, at Washington City, District of Columbia, this nineteenth day of February, A. D. 1867, by and between Lewis V. Bogy, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, and William H. Watson, commissioners on the part of the United States, and the undersigned chiefs and head-men of the Sissiton and Warpeton bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians, as follows, to-wit:

Article 1. The Sissiton and Warpeton bands of Dakota Sioux Indians, represented in council, will continue their friendly relations with the Government and people of the United States, and bind themselves individually and collectively to use their influence to the extent of their ability to prevent other bands of Dakota or other adjacent tribes from making hostile demonstrations against the Government or people of the United States.

Article 2. The said bands do hereby cede to the United States the right to construct wagon roads, railroads, mail stations, telegraph lines, and such other public improvements as the interest of the Government may require, over and across the lands claimed by said bands, (including their reservation, as hereinafter designated,) over any route or routes that that may be selected by the authority of the Government; said lands, so claimed, being bounded on the south and east by the treaty line of 1851, (proclaimed January 24, 1853; see page 879,) and the Red River of the North to the mouth of Goose River; on the north by the Goose River and a line running from the source thereof by the most westerly point of Devil's Lake to the Chief's Bluff at the head of James River, and on the west by the James River to the mouth of the Mocasin River, and thence to Kampeska Lake. (See also provisions of agreement annexed hereto.)

Article 3. For and in consideration of the cession above mentioned, and in consideration of the faithful and important services said to have been rendered by the friendly bands of Sissitons and Warpetons Sioux here represented, and also in consideration of the confiscation of all their annuities, reservations and improvements, it is agreed that there shall be set apart for the members of said bands who have heretofore surrendered to the authorities of the Government, and were not sent to the Crow Creek reservation, and for the members of said bands who were released from prison in 1866, the following described lands as a permanent reservation, viz:

Beginning at the head of Lake Travers[e], and thence along the treaty line of the treaty of 1851 to Kampeska Lake; thence in a direct line to Reipan or the northeast point of the Coteau des Prairie[s], and thence passing north of Skunk Lake on the most direct line to the foot of Lake Traverse, and thence along the treaty line of 1851 to the place of beginning.

Thereafter, on the 20th of September, 1872, the following agreement was entered into:

Whereas the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Dakotah or Sioux Indians made and concluded a treaty with the United States, at the City of Washington, D. C., on the 19th day of February, A. D. 1867, (see page 909,) which was ratified, with certain amendments, by the Senate of the United States on the 15th day of April, 1867, and finally promulgated by the President of the United States on the 2d day of May, in the year aforesaid, by which the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Sioux Indians ceded to the United States certain privileges and rights supposed to belong to said bands in the territory described in article two (2) of said treaty; and

Whereas it is desirable that all said territory, except the portion thereof comprised in what is termed the permanent reservations, particularly described in articles three (3) and four (4) of said treaty, shall be ceded absolutely to the United States upon such consideration as in justice and equity should be paid therefor by the United States; and

Whereas said territory, now proposed to be ceded, is no longer available to said Indians for the purpose of the chase, and such value or consideration is essentially necessary in order to enable said bands interested therein to cutlivate portions of said permanent resevations, and become wholly self-supporting by the cultivation of the soil and other pursuits of husbandry: Therefore, the said bands, represented in said treaty, and parties thereto, by their chiefs and head-men, now assembled in council, do propose to M. N. Adams, William H. Forbes, and James Smith, Jr., commissioners on behalf of the United States, as follows:

First. To cede, sell, and relinquish to the United States all their right, title and interest in and to all lands and territory particularly described in article two (2) of said treaty, as well as all lands in the Territory of Dakota to which they have title or interest, excepting the said tracts particularly described and bounded in articles three (3) and four (4) of said treaty, which last-named tracts and territory are expressly reserved as permanent reservations for occupancy and cultivation, as contemplated by articles eight, (8,) nine, (9,) and ten (10) of said treaty.

Second. That, in consideration of said cession and relinquishment, the United States shall advance and pay, annually, for the term of ten (10) years from and after the acceptance by the United States of the proposition herein submitted, eighty thousand (80,000) dollars, to be expended under the direction of the President of the United States, on the plan and in accordance with the provisions of the treaty aforesaid, dated February 19, 1867, for goods and provisions, for the erection of manual-labor and public school houses, and for the support of manual-labor and public schools, and in the erection of mills, blacksmith shops,

and other work-shops, and to aid in opening farms, breaking land and fencing the same, and in furnishing agricultural implements, oxen, and milch-cows, and such other beneficial objects as may be deemed most conducive to the prosperity and happiness of the Sisseton and Wahpeton bands of Dakota or Sioux Indians entitled thereto according to the said treaty of February 19, 1867. Such annual appropriation or consideration to be apportioned to the Sisseton and Devil's Lake agencies, in proportion to the number of Indians of the said bands located upon the Lake Traverse and Devil's Lake reservations respectively. Such apportionments to be made upon the basis of the annual reports or returns of the agents in charge. Said consideration, amounting in the aggregate to eight hundred thousand (800,000) dollars, payable as aforesaid, without interest.

Third. As soon as may be the said territory embraced within said reservation described in article four, (4,) (Devil's Lake reservation,) shall be surveyed, as Government lands are surveyed, for the purpose of enabling the Indians entitled to acquire permanent rights in the soil, as contemplated by article five (5) of said treaty.

Fourth. We respectfully request that, in case the foregoing propositions are favorably entertained by the United States, the sale of spirituous liquors upon the territory ceded may be wholly prohibited by the United States Government.

Fifth. The provisions of article (5) of the treaty of February 19, 1867, to be modified as follows: An occupancy and cultivation of five (5) acres, upon any particular location, for a term of five (5) consecutive years, shall entitle the party to a patent for forty acres; a like occupancy and cultivation of ten (10) acres, to entitle the party to a patent to eighty acres; and a like occupancy and cultivation of any tract, to the extent of twenty acres, shall entitle the party so occupying and cultivating to a patent for 160 acres of land. Parties who have already selected farms and cultivated the same may be entitled to the benefit of this modification. Patents so issued (as hereinbefore set forth) shall authorize a transfer or alienation of such lands situate within the Sisseton agency, after the expiration of ten (10) years from this date, and within the Devil's Lake reservation after the expiration of fifteen (15) years, but not sooner.

Sixth. The consideration to be paid, as hereinbefore proposed, is in addition to the provisions of article six (6) of the treaty of February 19, 1867, under which Congress shall appropriate, from time to time, such an amount as may be required to meet the necessities of said Indians, to enable them to become civilized.

Seventh. Sections sixteen (16) and thirty-six (36) within the reservations shall be set apart for educational purposes, and all children of a suitable age within either reservation shall be compelled to attend school at the discretion of the agents.

Eighth. At the expiration of ten (10) years from this date all members of said bands under the age of twenty-one years shall receive 40 acres of land from said permanent reservations in fee simple.

Ninth. At the expiration of ten (10) years the President of the United States shall sell or dispose of all the remaining or unoccupied lands in the Lake Traverse reservation, (excepting that which may hereafter be set apart for school purposes;) the proceeds of the sale of such lands to be expended for the benefit of the members of said bands located on said Lake Traverse reservation; and, at the expiration of fifteen (15) years, the President shall sell or dispose of all the remaining unoccupied lands (excepting that which may be hereafter set apart for school purposes) in the Devil's Lake reservation; the proceeds of the sale of such lands shall be expended for the benefit of all members of said bands who may be located on the said Devil's Lake reservation.

Executed at Sisseton agency, Dakotah Territory, Lake Traverse reservation, this 20th day of September, A. D. 1872.

D

TREATY OF LARAMIE, 1868

This is the Treaty for Which Red Cloud Fought—It Defines Great Sioux Reservation and Relinquishes All Other Lands

Treaty between the United States of America and different tribes of Sioux Indians, concluded April 29 et seq., 1868; ratification advised February 16, 1869.

Andrew Johnson, President of the United States of America, to all and singular to whom these presents shall come, greeting:

Whereas a treaty was made and concluded at Fort Laramie, in the Territory of Dakota, (now in the Territory of Wyoming,) on the twenty-ninth day of April, and afterwards, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight, by and between Nathaniel G. Taylor, William T. Sherman, William S. Harney, John B. Sanborn, S. F. Tappan, C. C. Augur, and Alfred H. Terry, commissioners on the part of the United States, and Ma-za-pon-kaska, Tah-shun-ka-co-qui-pah, Heh-won-ge-chat, Mah-to-non-pah, Little Chief, Makh-pi-ah-lu-tah, Co-cam-i-ya-ya, Con-te-pe-ta, Ma-wa-tau-ni-hav-ska, He-na-pin-wa-ni-ca Wah-pah-shaw, and other chiefs and head-men of different tribes of Sioux Indians, on the part of said Indians, and duly authorize thereto by them, which treaty is in the words and figures following, to-wit:

Article 1. From this day forward all war between the parties to this agreement shall forever cease. The government of the United States desires peace, and its honor is hereby pledged to keep it. The Indians desire peace, and they now pledge their honor to maintain it.

If bad men among the whites, or among other people subject to the authority of the United States, shall commit any wrong upon the person or property of the Indians, the United States will, upon proof made to the agent and forwarded to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington City, proceed at once to cause the offender to be arrested and punished according to the laws of the United States, and also reimburse the injured person for the loss sustained.

If bad men among the Indians shall commit a wrong or depredation upon the person or property of any one, white, black or Indian, subject to the authority of the United States, and at peace therewith, the Indians herein named solemnly agree that they will, upon proof made to their agent and notice by him, deliver up to the wrong-doer to the United States, to be tried and punished according to its laws; and in case they wilfully refuse so to do, the person injured shall be reimbursed for his loss from the annuities or other moneys due or to become due to them under this or other treaties made with the United States. And the President, on advising with the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, shall prescribe such rules and regulations for ascertaining damages under the provisions of this article as in his judgment may be proper. But no one sustaining loss while violating the provisions of this treaty or the laws of the United States shall be reimbursed therefor.

Article 2. The United States agrees that the following district of country, to-wit, viz: commencing on the east bank of the Missouri River where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude crosses the same; thence along low water mark down said east bank to a point opposite where the northern line of the state of Nebraska strikes the river; thence west across said river and along the northern line of Nebraska to the one hundred and fourth degree of longitude west from Greenwich; thence north on said meridian to a point where the forty-sixth parallel of north latitude intercepts the same; thence due east along said parallel to the place of beginning; and, in addition thereto, all

existing reservations on the east bank of said river shall be, and the same is, hereby set apart for the absolute and undisturbed use and occupation of the Indians herein named, and for such other friendly tribes or individual Indians as from time to time they may be willing, with the consent of the United States, to admit amongst them; and the United States now solemnly agrees that no persons except those herein designated and authorized so to do, and except such officers, agents, and employes of the government as may be authorized to enter upon Indian reservations in discharge of duties enjoined by law, shall ever be permitted to pass over, settle upon, or reside in the territory described in this article, or in such territory as may be added to this reservation for the use of said Indians, and henceforth they will, and do hereby, relinquish all claims or right in and to any portion of the United States or Territories, except such as is embraced within the limits aforesaid, and except as hereinafter provided.

Article 3. If it should appear from actual survey or other satisfactory examination of said tract of land that it contains less than one hundred and sixty acres of tillable land for each person who, at the time, may be authorized to reside on it under the provisions of this treaty, and a very considerable number of such persons shall be disposed to commence cultivating the soil as farmers, the United States agrees to set apart, for the use of said Indians, as herein provided, such additional quantity of arable land, adjoining to said reservation, or as near to the same as it can be obtained, as may be required to provide the necessary amount.

Article 4. The United States agrees, at its own proper expense, to construct at some place on the Missouri River, near the center of said reservation, where timber and water may be convenient, the following buildings, to-wit: a warehouse, a store-room for the use of the agent in storing goods belonging to the Indians, to cost not less than twenty-five hundred dollars; an agency building for the residence of the agent, to cost not exceeding three thousand dollars; a residence for the physician, to cost not more than three thousand dollars; and five other buildings, for a carpenter, farmer, blacksmith, miller, and engineer, each to cost not exceeding two thousand dollars; also a school house or mission building, so soon as a sufficient number of children can be induced by the agent to attend school, which shall cost not exceeding five thousand dollars.

The United States further agrees to cause to be erected on said reservation, near the other buildings herein authorized, a good steam circular-saw mill, with a grist mill and shingle machine attached to the same, to cost not exceeding eight thousand dollars.

Article 5. The United States agrees that the agent for said Indians shall in the future make his home at the agency building; that he shall reside among them, and keep an office open at all times for the purpose of prompt and diligent inquiry into such matters of complaint by and against the Indians as may be presented for investigation under the provisions of their treaty stipulations, also for the faithful discharge of other duties enjoined on him by law. In all cases of depredation on person or property he shall cause the evidence to be taken in writing and forwarded together with his findings, to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, whose decision, subject to the revision of the Secretary of the Interior, shall be binding on the parties to this treaty.

Article 6. If any individual belonging to said tribes of Indians, or legally incorporated with them, being the head of a family, shall desire to commence farming, he shall have the privilege to select, in the presence and with the assistance of the agent then in charge, a tract of

land within said reservation, not exceeding three hundred and twenty acres in extent, which tract, when so selected, certified, and recorded in the "land book," as herein directed, shall cease to be held in common, but the same may be occupied and held in the exclusive possession of the person selecting it, and of his family, so long as he or they may continue to cultivate it.

Any person over eighteen years of age, not being the head of a family, may, in like manner, select and cause to be certified to him or her, for purposes of cultivation, a quantity of land not exceeding eighty acres in extent, and thereupon be entitled to the exclusive possession of the same as above directed.

For each tract of land so selected, a certificate, containing a description thereof and the name of the person selecting it, with a certificate endorsed thereon that the same has been recorded, shall be delivered to the party entitled to it, by the agent, after the same shall have been recorded by him in a book to be kept in his office, subject to inspection, which said book shall be known as the "Sioux Land-Book."

The President may, at any time, order a survey of the reservation, and, when so surveyed, congress shall provide for protecting the rights of said settlers in their improvements, and may fix the character of the title held by each. The United States may pass such laws on the subject of alienation and descent of property between the Indians and their descendants as may be thought proper. And it is further stipulated that any male Indian, over eighteen years of age, of any band or tribe that is or shall hereafter become a party to this treaty, who now is or who shall hereafter become a resident or occupant of any reservation or territory not included in the tract of country designated and described in this treaty for the permanent home of the Indians, which is not mineral land, nor reserved by the United States for special purposes other than Indian occupation, and who shall have made improvements thereon of the value of two hundred dollars or more, and continuously occupied the same as a homestead for the term of three years, shall be entitled to receive from the United States a patent for one hundred and sixty acres of land including his said improvements, the same to be in the form of the legal subdivisions of the surveys of the public lands. Upon application in writing, sustained by the proof of two disinterested witnesses, made to the register of the local land office when the land sought to be entered is within a land district, and when the tract sought to be entered is not in any land district, then upon said application and proof being made to the Commissioner of the General Land Office, and the right of such Indian or Indians to enter such tract or tracts of land shall accrue and be perfect from the date of his first improvements thereon, and shall continue as long as he continues his residence and improvements, and no longer. And any Indian or Indians receiving a patent for land under the foregoing provisions shall thereby and from thenceforth become and be a citizen of the United States, and be entitled to all the privileges and immunities of such citizens, and shall, at the same time, retain all his rights to benefits accruing to Indians under this treaty.

Article 7. In order to insure the civilization of the Indians entering into this treaty, the necessity of education is admitted, especially of such of them as are or may be settled on said agricultural reservations, and they therefore pledge themselves to compel their children, male and female, between the ages of six and sixteen years, to attend school; and it is hereby made the duty of the agent for said Indians to see that this stipulation is strictly complied with; and the United States agrees that for every thirty children between said ages who can be in-

duced or compelled to attend school, a house shall be provided and a teacher competent to teach the elementary branches of an English education shall be furnished, who will reside among said Indians, and faithfully discharge his or her duties as a teacher. The provisions of this article to continue for not less than twenty years.

Article 8. When the head of a family or lodge shall have selected lands and received his certificate as above directed, and the agent shall be satisfied that he intends in good faith to commence cultivating the soil for a living, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and agricultural implements for the first year, not exceeding in value one hundred dollars, and for each succeeding year he shall continue to farm, for a period of three years or more, he shall be entitled to receive seeds and implements as aforesaid, not exceeding in value twenty-five dollars.

And it is further stipulated that such persons as commence farming shall receive instruction from the farmer herein provided for, and whenever more than one hundred persons shall enter upon the cultivation of the soil, a second blacksmith shall be provided, with such iron, steel, and other material as may be needed.

Article 9. At any time after ten years from the making of this treaty, the United States shall have the privilege of withdrawing the physician, farmer, blacksmith, carpenter, engineer, and miller herein provided for, but in case of such withdrawal an additional sum thereafter of ten thousand dollars per annum shall be devoted to the education of said Indians, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs shall, upon careful inquiry into their condition, make such rules and regulations for the expenditure of said sum as will best promote the educational and moral improvement of said tribes.

Article 10. In lieu of all sums of money or other annuities provided to be paid to the Indians herein named, under any treaty or treaties heretofore made, the United States agrees to deliver at the agency house on the reservation herein named, on (or before) the first day of August of each year, for thirty years, the following articles, to-wit:

For each male person over fourteen years of age, a suit of good substantial woolen clothing, consisting of coat, pantaloons, flannel shirt, hat, and a pair of home-made socks.

For each female over twelve years of age, a flannel skirt, or the goods necessary to make it, a pair of woolen hose, twelve yeards of calico, and twelve yards of cotton domestics.

For the boys and girls under the ages named, such flannel and cotton goods as may be needed to make each a suit as aforesaid, together with a pair of woolen hose for each.

And in order that the Commissioner of Indian Affairs may be able to estimate properly for the articles herein named, it shall be the duty of the agent each year to forward to him a full and exact census of the Indians, on which the estimate from year to year can be based.

And in addition to the clothing herein named, the sum of ten dollars for each person entitled to the beneficial effects of this treaty shall be annually appropriated for a period of thirty years, while such persons roam and hunt, and twenty dollars for each person who engages in farming, to be used by the Secretary of the Interior in the purchase of such articles as from time to time the condition and necessities of the Indians may indicate to be proper. And if within the thirty years, at any time, it shall appear that the amount of money needed for clothing under this article can be appropriated to better uses for the Indians named herein, congress may, by law, change the appropriation to other purposes; but in no event shall the amount of this appropriation be withdrawn or discontinued for the period named. And the President

shall annually detail an officer of the army to be present and attest the delivery of all the goods herein named to the Indians, and he shall inspect and report on the quantity and quality of the goods and the manner of their delivery. And it is hereby expressly stipulated that each Indian over the age of four years, who shall have removed to and settled permanently upon said reservation and complied with the stipulations of this treaty, shall be entitled to receive from the United States for the period of four years after he shall have settled upon said reservation, one pound of meat and one pound of flour per day, provided the Indians cannot furnish their own subsistence at an earlier date. And it is further stipulated that the United States will furnish and deliver to each lodge of Indians or family of persons legally incorporated with them, who shall remove to the reservation herein described and commence farming, one good American cow, and one good, well-broken pair of American oxen within sixty days after such lodge or family shall have so settled upon said reservation.

Article 11. In consideration of the advantages and benefits conferred by this treaty, and the many pledges of friendship by the United States, the tribes who are parties to this agreement hereby stipulate that they will relinquish all right to occupy permanently the territory outside their reservation as herein defined, but yet reserve the right to hunt on any lands north of North Platte, and on the Republican Fork of the Smoky Hill River, so long as the buffalo may range thereon in such numbers as to justify the chase. And they, the said Indians, further expressly agree:

1st. That they will withdraw all opposition to the construction of the railroads now being built on the plains.

2d. That they will permit the peaceful construction of any railroad not passing over their reservation as herein defined.

3d. That they will not attack any persons at home or traveling, nor molest or disturb any wagon-trains, coaches, mules, or cattle belonging to the people of the United States or to persons friendly therewith.

4th. They will never capture or carry off from the settlements white women or children.

5th. They will never kill or scalp white men, nor attempt to do them harm.

6th. They withdraw all pretence of opposition to the construction of the railroad now being built along the Platte River and westward to the Pacific Ocean, and they will not in future object to the construction of railroads, wagon-roads, mail-stations, or other works of utility or necessity which may be ordered or permitted by the laws of the United States. But should such roads or other works be constructed on the lands of their reservation, the Government will pay the tribe whatever amount of damage may be assessed by three disinterested commissioners, to be appointed by the President for that purpose, one of said commissioners to be a chief or head-man of the tribe.

7th. They agree to withdraw all opposition to the military posts or roads now established south of the North Platte River, or that may be established, not in violation of treaties heretofore made or hereafter to be made with any of the Indian tribes.

Article 12. No treaty for the cession of any portion or part of the reservation herein described which may be held in common shall be of any validity or force as against the said Indians unless executed and signed by at least three-fourths of all the adult male Indians occupying and interested in the same; and no cession by the tribe shall be understood or construed in such manner as to deprive, without his consent, any individual member of the tribe of his rights to any tract of land selected by him, as provided in article 6 of this treaty.

Article 13. The United States hereby agrees to furnish annually to the Indians the physician, teachers, carpenter, miller, engineer, farmer, and blacksmiths as herein contemplated, and that such appropriations shall be made from time to time, on the estimates of the Secretary of the Interior, as will be sufficient to employ such persons.

Article 14. It is agreed that the sum of five hundred dollars annually, for three years from date, shall be expended in presents to the ten persons of said tribe who, in the judgment of the agent, may grow the most valuable crops for the respective year.

Article 15. The Indians herein named agree that when the agency-house or other buildings shall be constructed on the reservation named, they will regard the said reservation their permanent home, and they will make no permanent settlement elsewhere; but they shall have the right, subject to the conditions and modifications of this treaty, to hunt, as stipulated in Article 11 hereof.

Article 16. The United States hereby agrees and stipulates that the country north of the North Platte River and east of the summits of the Big Horn Mountains shall be held and considered to be unceded Indian territory, and also stipulates and agrees that no white person or persons shall be permitted to settle upon or occupy any portion of the same, or, without the consent of the Indians first had and obtained, to pass through the same; and it is further agreed by the United States that within ninety days after the conclusion of peace with all the bands of the Sioux Nation, the military posts now established in the territory in this article named shall be abandoned, and that the road leading to them and by them to the settlements in the Territory of Montana shall be closed.

Article 17. It is hereby expressly understood and agreed by and between the respective parties to this treaty that the execution of this treaty and its ratification by the United States Senate shall have the effect and shall be construed as abrogating and annulling all treaties and agreements heretofore entered into between the respective parties hereto, so far as such treaties and agreements obligate the United States to furnish and provide money, clothing, or other articles of property to such Indians and bands of Indians as become parties to this treaty, but no further.

Proclaimed February 24, 1869.

E

GREAT SIOUX TREATY OF 1889.

An act to divide a portion of the reservation of the Sioux Nation of Indians in Dakota into separate reservations and to secure the relinquishment of the Indian title to the remainder, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the senate and house of representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled: That the following tract of land, being a part of the great reservation of the Sioux nation, in the territory of Dakota, is hereby set apart for a permanent reservation for the Indians receiving rations and annuities at the Pine Ridge agency, in the territory of Dakota, namely: Beginning at the intersection of the one hundred and third meridian of longitude with the northern boundary of the State of Nebraska; thence north along said meridian to the south fork of the Cheyenne River, and down said stream to the mouth of Rapid Creek; thence in an easterly direction along the northern edge of the Bad Lands to the mouth of Pass Creek on White River; thence up Pass Creek southerly to the source of its principal branch; thence due south to the said north line of the State of Nebraska; thence west on said north line to the place of beginning. Also, the following tract of land

situated in the State of Nebraska and the territory of Dakota, namely: Beginning at a point on the boundary line between the State of Nebraska and the territory of Dakota where the range line between ranges 44 and 45 west of the sixth principal meridian, in the territory of Dakota, intersects said boundary line; thence east along said boundary line five miles; thence due south five miles; thence due west five miles; thence due north to said boundary line; thence due east along said boundary line to the place of beginning. Provided, that the said tract of land in the State of Nebraska shall be reserved, by executive order, only so long as it may be needed for the use and protection of the Indians receiving rations and annuities at the Pine Ridge agency.

Section 2. That the following tract of land, being a part of the said great reservation of the Sioux nation, in the territory of Dakota, is hereby set apart for a permanent reservation for the Indians receiving rations and annuities at the Rosebud agency, in said territory of Dakota, namely: Commencing in the middle of the main channel of the Missouri River, at the intersection of the south line of Brule county; thence down said middle of the main channel of the said river to the intersection of the ninety-ninth degree of west longitude from Greenwich; thence due south to the forty-third parallel of latitude; thence west along said parallel to a point due south from the source of the principal branch of Pass Creek; thence due north to the said source of the said principal branch of Pass Creek; thence down Pass Creek to White River; thence down White River to a point intersecting the west line of Gregory county extended north; thence south on said extended west line of Gregory county to the intersection of the south line of Brule county extended west; thence due east on said south line of Brule county extended to the point of beginning in the Missouri River, including entirely within said reservations all islands, if any, in said river.

Section 3. That the following tract of land, being a part of the said great reservation of the Sioux nation, in the territory of Dakota, is hereby set apart for a permanent reservation for the Indians receiving rations and annuities at the Standing Rock agency, in the said territory of Dakota, namely: Beginning at a point in the center of the main channel of the Missouri River opposite the mouth of Cannon Ball River; thence down said center of the main channel to a point ten miles north of the mouth of the Moreau River; including also within said reservation all islands, if any, in said river; thence due west to the one hundred and second degree of west longitude from Greenwich; thence north along said meridian to its intersection with the south branch of Cannon Ball River, also known as Cedar Creek; thence down said south branch of Cannon Ball River to its intersection with the main Cannon Ball River, and down said main Cannon Ball River to the center of the main channel of the Missouri River at the place of beginning.

Section 4. That the following tract of land, being a part of the said great reservation of the Sioux nation, in the territory of Dakota, is hereby set apart as a permanent reservation for the Indians receiving rations and annuities at the Cheyenne River agency in the said territory of Dakota, namely: Beginning at a point in the center of the main channel of the Missouri River, ten miles north of the mouth of the Moreau River, said point being the southeastern corner of the Standing Rock reservation; then down said center of the main channel of the Missouri River, including also entirely within said reservation all islands, if any in said river, to a point opposite the mouth of the Cheyenne River, thence west to said Cheyenne River, and up the same to its intersection with the one hundred and second meridian of longitude; thence north along said meridian to its intersection with a line due west from a point in the Missouri River ten miles north of the mouth of the Moreau River; thence due east to the place of beginning.

Section 5. That the following tract of land, being a part of the said

great reservation of the Sioux nation, in the territory of Dakota, is hereby set apart for a permanent reservation for the Indians receiving rations and annuities at Lower Brule agency, in said territory of Dakota, namely: Beginning on the Missouri River at old Fort George; thence running due west to the western boundary of Presho county, thence running south on said western boundary to the forty-fourth degree of latitude; thence on said forty-fourth degree of latitude to the western boundary of township No. 72; thence south on said township western line to an intersecting line running due west from Fort Lookout; thence eastwardly on said line to the center of the main channel of the Missouri River at Fort Lookout; thence north in the center of the main channel of the said river to the original starting point.

Section 6. That the following tract of land, being a part of the great reservation of the Sioux nation, in the territory of Dakota, is hereby set apart for a permanent reservation for the Indians receiving rations and annuities at the Crow Creek agency, in said territory of Dakota, namely: The whole of township 106, range 70; township 107, range 71; township 108, range 71; township 108, range 72; township 109, range 72; and the south half of township 109, range 71, and all except sections 1, 2, 3, 4, 9, 10, 11 and 12 of township 107, range 70, and such parts as lie on the east and left bank of the Missouri River, of the following townships, namely: Township 106, range 71; township 107, range 72; township 108, range 73; township 108, range 74; township 108, range 75; township 108, range 76; township 109, range 73; township 109, range 74; south half of township 109, range 75, and township 107, range 73, also the west half of township 106, range 69, and sections 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32 and 33, of township 107, range 69.

Section 7. That each member of the Santee Sioux tribe of Indians now occupying the reservation in the State of Nebraska not having already taken allotments, shall be entitled to allotments upon said reserve in Nebraska as follows: To each head of a family, one quarter of a section; to each single person over 18 years of age, one eighth of a section; to each orphan child under 18 years of age, one eighth of a section; to each other person under 18 years of age now living, one sixteenth of a section; the title thereto, in accordance with the provisions of Article 6, of the treaty concluded April 29, 1868, and the agreement with said Santee Sioux approved February 28, 1877, and rights under the same in all other respects conforming to this act. And said Santee Sioux shall be entitled to all other benefits under this act in the same manner and with the same conditions as if they were residents upon said Sioux reservation, receiving rations at one of the agencies herein named. Provided, that all allotments heretofore made to said Santee Sioux in Nebraska are hereby ratified and confirmed; and each member of the Flandreau band of Sioux Indians is hereby authorized to take allotments on the great Sioux reservation, or in lieu thereof shall be paid at the rate of $1 per acre for the land to which they would be entitled, to be paid out of the proceeds of land relinquished under this act, which shall be used under the direction of the secretary of the interior; and said Flandreau band of Sioux Indians is in all other respects entitled to the benefits of this act the same as if receiving rations and annuities at any of the agencies aforesaid.

Sections 8, 9, 10, 12 relate to the manner of allotting the reservation lands to the members of the tribe.

Section 13 relates to the domiciles of the Indians at the various agencies.

Section 14 provides that the secretary of the interior shall prescribe rules for regulating water supply for irrigation purposes.

Section 15 protects in their holdings Indians who have taken allotments under the former treaties.

Section 16 confirms the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway and the Dakota Central Railway in their respective rights-of-way across the reservation, under certain restrictions.

Section 17 relates to the education of the Indian children.

Section 18 confirms the title of the various religious societies in their school and church sites on the reservation.

Section 19 continues in force provisions of previous treaties not conflicting with this treaty.

Section 20 provides for the erection of school houses at convenient points on the reservations.

Section 21. That all the lands in the great Sioux reservation outside the separate reservations herein described are hereby restored to the public domain, except American Island, Farm Island and Niobrara Island, and shall be disposed by the United States to actual settlers only, under the provisions of the homestead law (except Section 2301 thereof) and under the law relating to townsites: Provided, that each settler, under and in accordance with the provisions of said homestead acts, shall pay to the United States, for the land so taken by him, in addition to the fees provided by law, the sum of $1.25 per acre for all lands disposed of within the first three years after the taking effect of this act, and the sum of 75 cents per acre for all lands disposed of within the next two years following thereafter, and 50 cents per acre for the residue of the land then undisposed of, and shall be entitled to a patent therefor according to said homestead laws, and after the full payment of said sums. But the rights of honorably discharged Union soldiers and sailors in the late civil war as defined and described in Sections 2304 and 2305 of the Revised Statutes of the United States, shall not be abridged, except as to said sums: Provided, that all lands herein opened to settlement under this act remaining undisposed of at the end of ten years from the taking effect of this act shall be taken and accepted by the United States and paid for by said United States at 50 cents per acre, which amount shall be added to and credited to said Indians as part of their permanent fund, and said lands shall thereafter be part of the public domain of the United States, to be disposed of under the homestead laws of the United States, and the provisions of this act; and any conveyance of said lands so taken as a homestead, or any contract touching the same, or lien thereon, created prior to the date of final entry, shall be null and void: Provided, that there shall be reserved public highways four rods wide around every section of land allotted, or opened to settlement by this act, the section lines being the center of said highways; but no deduction shall be made in the amount to be paid for each quarter section of land by reason of such reservation. But if the said highway shall be vacated by any competent authority the title to the respective strips shall inure to the then owner of the tract to which it formed a part of the original survey. And provided further, that nothing in this act contained shall be so construed as to affect the right of congress or of the government of Dakota to establish public highways, or to grant to railroad companies the right of way through said lands, or to exclude the said lands, or any thereof, from the operation of the general laws of the United States now in force granting to railway companies the right of way and depot grounds over and upon the public lands; American Island, an island in the Missouri River near Chamberlain, in the territory of Dakota, and now a part of the Sioux reservation, is hereby donated to the said city of Chamberlain: Provided, further, that said city of Chamberlain shall formally accept the same

within one year from the passage of this act, upon the express condition that the same shall be preserved and used for all time entire as a public park, and for no other purpose, to which all persons shall have free access; and said city shall have authority to adopt all proper rules and regulations for the improvement and care of said park; and upon the failure of any of said conditions the said island shall revert to the United States, to be disposed of by future legislation only. Farm Island, an island in the Missouri River near Pierre, in the territory of Dakota, and now a part of the Sioux reservation, is hereby donated to the said city of Pierre: Provided further, that said city of Pierre shall formally accept the same within one year from the passage of this act, upon the express condition that the same shall be preserved and used for all time entire as a public park, and for no other purpose, to which all persons shall have free access; and said city shall have authority to adopt all proper rules and regulations for the improvement and care of said park; and upon failure of any of said conditions the said island shall revert to the United States, to be disposed of by future legislation only. Niobrara Island, an island in the Niobrara River near Niobrara, and now a part of the Sioux reservation, is hereby donated to the said city of Niobrara. Provided further, that said city of Niobrara shall formally accept the same within one year from the passage of this act; upon the express condition that the same shall be preserved and used for all time entire as a public park, and for no other purpose, to which all persons shall have free access; and said city shall have authority to adopt all proper rules and regulations for the improvement and care of said park; and upon the failure of any of said conditions the said island shall revert to the United States, to be disposed of by future legislation only. And provided further, that if any full or mixed blood Indian of the Sioux nation shall have located upon Farm Island, American Island or Niobrara Island before the date of the passage of this act, it shall be the duty of the secretary of the interior, within three months from the time this act shall have taken effect, to cause all improvements made by any such Indian so located upon either of said islands, and all damage that may accrue to him by removal therefrom, to be appraised, and upon the payment of the sum so determined, within six months after notice thereof, by the city to which the island is herein donated to such Indian, said Indian shall be required to remove from said island, and shall be entitled to select instead of such location his allotment according to the provisions of this act upon any of the reservations herein established, or upon any land opened to settlement by this act not already located upon.

Section 22 provides for the investment of money derived from sale of Indian lands as a permanent fund for benefit of Indians.

Section 23 protects Crow Creek settlers.

Section 24 reserves sections 16 and 36 of ceded lands for school lands.

Sections 25 and 26 provide for surveying ceded lands.

Section 27 provides payment for Red Cloud's ponies, taken by the government in 1876.

Section 28 provides when this treaty shall take effect.

Section 29 is the usual repealing clause.

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